

METHODIST REVIEW.

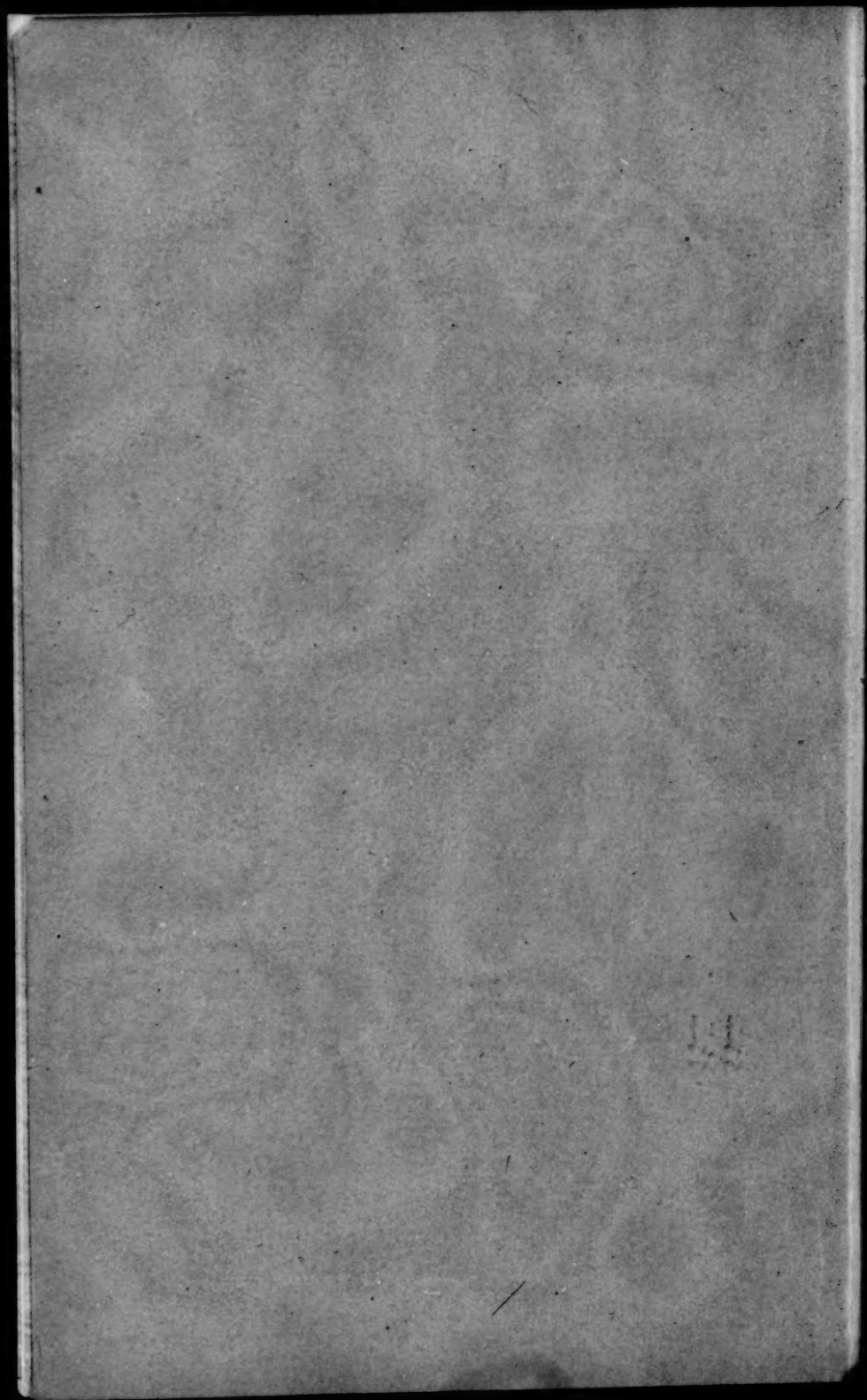
(BIMONTHLY.)

DANIEL CURRY, DD., LL.D., Editor.

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Yours truly,
M. Simpson

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1885.

ART. I.—BISHOP SIMPSON.

THE first century of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America began with the consecration and episcopal services of Francis Asbury, the typical Methodist Bishop; it closes and culminates in the useful and brilliant career of Matthew Simpson, than whom no man of his age has more sincerely served God and his race, or more highly honored the great office to which the suffrages of his brethren had called him. If our episcopacy had its root and stock in the sturdy Asbury, surely in the eloquent Simpson it found its full flower and fruit. It is doubtful if any other Bishop in dying has left the office more luminous or fragrant.

Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., was born at Cadiz, the county-seat of Harrison County, Ohio, on June 21, 1811, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., June 18, 1884. He was the son of James and Sarah Tingley Simpson. His father was a native of the north of Ireland, and was of Scotch-Irish descent. What English Puritans did for New England, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians did for many sections of our Middle and Southern States, and both were good stocks for Methodist grafting.

James Simpson, on arriving in this country, landed first at Baltimore, Md., and thence emigrated when a young man to south-eastern Ohio. Here he married Sarah Tingley (descended from a French-English family of New Jersey), who also emigrated to Ohio about the same time. Soon after Matthew's birth, Mr. Simpson removed with his family to Pittsburg, Pa. A year later the father died, and Mrs. Simpson, with her infant son, returned to Cadiz, and thenceforward

the training of young Simpson was under the guidance of his mother and of Mr. Matthew Simpson, the paternal uncle whose name he bore. The mother was a devout Christian woman, of plain dress and affable manners. She possessed strong native sense, associated with a vivacious temperament, and much of the *naïveté* peculiar to the French. Mr. Matthew Simpson was well qualified, as an educated Christian gentleman, to be the instructor and guardian of the boy. A close biblical student, reading the Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew, a school teacher, a representative man in his county, a constant and active member of the Methodist Church from his early youth, he was in all respects fitted to give bent to the mind of the future Bishop; and so the lad grew, under the fostering nurture of the mother's love and the uncle's wisdom. After receiving such academical training as Cadiz could afford, he was sent to Madison College, Pa., which had recently come under the patronage of the Pittsburg Annual Conference, and of which the Rev. H. B. Bascom, D.D., then in the height of his fame as a pulpit orator, was the president (1827-1829). The good uncle meant, no doubt, to be loyal to the new Methodist College; but likely he was equally drawn by the eloquent Bascom, who was now the pride and joy of all Methodists. Young Simpson's mind was fit tinder for the sparks which flashed from Bascom's blazing intellect.

Such was young Simpson's proficiency in his studies, that at the early age of eighteen years he was made tutor in the college. Having determined to become a physician, he returned to Ohio. There—it is not sure just where—he studied medicine, and had entered upon its practice when, under a powerful conviction of duty, he was led to change his course, and to accept license to preach as a Methodist local preacher. He was "received on trial" by the Pittsburg Conference in 1833, and appointed to the circuit where he lived. He was rapidly advanced to charges in Pittsburg and Monongahela cities. In 1837 Madison College was absorbed by Allegheny College, located at Meadville, Pa., in which he was elected vice-president and professor of natural philosophy and chemistry. In 1839 he was elected president of the new Indiana Asbury University (now De Pauw) at Greencastle, Ind. After remaining here nine years, laying deep and broad foundations for the

institution, he was elected by the General Conference of 1848 editor of the "Western Christian Advocate," and removed to Cincinnati. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1844 at New York, and also to that of 1848 at Pittsburg, and was again returned as a delegate to the General Conference of 1852 at Boston, by which body, on the twenty-fifth day of its session, he was elected to the office of Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was then within a few weeks of the completion of his forty-first year; being, with the exception of Bishop Janes, the youngest man ever elected to that office.

His subsequent residences were successively at Pittsburg, Pa., Evanston, Ill., and Philadelphia, Pa.; but according to Methodist law and usage he was a General Superintendent, a Bishop equally wherever the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church extended. He presided over the Annual and General Conferences in rotation with his associate Bishops, fixing the appointments of the preachers to their several charges of ministerial work, and also traveling abroad, as he was designated by his colleagues, into foreign countries, wherever the Church had established missions. In addition to his strictly official routine work must be reckoned his well-nigh countless sermons and addresses on ordinary and special occasions, his private conversations and counsels, his social and political interchanges of thought and courtesy. The record would fill many large volumes; and the least which we may expect, at a convenient opportunity, is one good volume, or more, which will embody in fair and just proportions his life-work.

The most that can be required in an article so brief as this is an attempt at determining somewhat the historical position of our great and good Bishop. But only an attempt; for it is yet too early to do more. We are still in the shadow of that moving, vital, well-nigh overpowering personality from which we cannot easily emerge, so as to be able to look at him calmly and clearly. A man at the foot of a great mountain must get away from its base far out upon the plain if he would measure its proportions. Should this Review notice fall into eulogy, it will be of a piece with every thing and every body who came into close contact with the man—his spell is upon the writer. Bishop Simpson was the most truly representative man and minister of American Methodism in the last half century. As

such he has not only impressed himself more strongly upon his times than any of his contemporaries, but his influence is destined to be more distinctive and controlling for succeeding generations than that of any one of them. And if the most truly representative minister of American Methodism, why not of the American Church? Modesty may, perhaps, forbid us to press this question; it is therefore only suggested. If, in the providence of God, our Methodist Bishop was brought to the front of the hosts of American Christians, and did more deeply impress their mind and shape their action than any other living minister, to God only be the glory. He was the common property of all believers in Christ. Certainly, as the foremost preacher and officer of the numerically largest Protestant denomination of the land—as a theologian of sound and evangelical belief—as a Christian of the most catholic spirit—as a citizen of the truest patriotism—as a philanthropist in warm and wide sympathy with all that concerns the welfare of his fellow-creatures—as a man of affairs always just and prudent—as one of the people touching them every-where by the magnetism of his presence—and as a preacher illumining, stirring, and charming all alike by the force of his ideas and his eloquence, to none did he stand second. What other man of all the Churches has so completely embodied all these attributes? Some may have been more profound and accurate theologians; others more varied and riper scholars; others, again, better informed and more active humanitarians; and still others of more original and pronounced ideas and better judges of law; and there may have been even those whose eloquence at times was more incisive and searching; yet who among them all united in such harmony all these qualities, any one of which is enough to make a man distinguished? If it is asked, Wherein lay his greatness? after possibly the mention of his oratory, first of all, one would be as liable to point to any one thing for which he was remarkable as to another.

But dismissing the question of his relative position in the Church at large, as Methodist Episcopalians probably there will be no dispute among us in conceding to him the highest niche in our ecclesiastical temple. We have known other men and ministers who excelled him in some one thing, and who may have had, owing to certain favoring conditions, more direct

influence personally in molding the opinions and shaping the conduct of men. It would be hard for the old students of Bascom, Olin, Durbin, M'Clintock, Thomson, and a few more who might be mentioned, to acknowledge the superior power of any man to these men, especially in the particular relations in which they were so intimately known; but when all is granted which is claimed for these, at some point they fall short of Simpson's influence. Either their gifts were less universal or their spheres were more limited. They may at some time have moved with equal brightness in their orbits, but not always so uniformly, and their rounds were more circumscribed.

The office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church affords grand opportunities for commanding moral and religious power. It cannot make a small man great, though even here men of comparatively moderate talents, who have been invested with its functions, have been raised, at least temporarily, to an influence incalculably beyond what they could have attained without it. There are men, highly influential before being elected Bishops, whose real power is not thereby enhanced, simply because they were better adapted to their former sphere than to this. All men cannot be equally successful, and cannot equal their former successes in altered circumstances. A man whose success as an educator, a book agent, a secretary, an editor, a pastor, or a presiding elder, is unquestioned, and even brilliant, may comparatively fail as a Bishop. He may make a good and acceptable Bishop, but fall short of the same standing in his new vocation which he had in his old. There may be a want of adaptation, or he may lack the magnitude to fill the office to the utmost. Bishop Ames once asked a presiding elder how he was getting on. When answered, "Very well," he rejoined, "Ah! a presiding elder's district is about the right size, but the episcopacy is too big." When a statue is to be placed high, as on a portico or a tower, it must be of such size as to compensate for distance and relations, otherwise it will appear diminutive and incongruous. It had better be down on the ground and near the beholder, for its own sake as well as for the general architectural effect.

I recollect that some years ago Dr. Abel Stevens, in one of his live discussions on men and measures in the Church, with characteristic freedom mildly expressed regret for the election

of Drs. Ames and Simpson to the episcopacy. He claimed that they were so tied up by ecclesiastical laws and usages that their influence would be correspondingly curtailed. They could not participate, as before, in the debates of the General Conferences, or be outspoken on public questions, or any more be leaders of reforms. This was the drift of his argument. But has the sequel approved his judgment in Bishop Simpson's case? It was not possible that Matthew Simpson could be wholly repressed in any position. His individuality would have asserted itself in making things move wherever he might be placed, and he must have been a leader and at the front under any circumstances. But he had the instinct, the training, and the magnitude for a Bishop. When he was consecrated a Bishop, as Sumner said of Chase when Chase was sworn in as Chief-Justice, "A shapely block of granite was hoisted to its place."

The episcopal office is not to be judged simply by its disciplinary functions, although these, as showing the lowest view of its capacity for good, present unusual opportunities. If a Bishop should accomplish no more than the giving of correct decisions on points of law, and adjusting the preachers and charges to each other, a very important trust would be discharged, and the results might be sufficiently far-reaching to render the agent in so vast a work mighty for God. But if, in addition to these, he possesses capabilities not defined by the Discipline, and which may be regarded as incidents of the office, such as the ability in the charmed circles of society both by private talks and public addresses to inspire men with a resistless energy, and lift them upon a higher plane, and set them a-going on new and world-wide enterprises, it must be admitted that he magnifies the office almost indefinitely.

Bishop Simpson, all will allow, entered into and discharged all the essential and accidental functions of the episcopacy with entire success. He found much in the office, and he gave to it as much as he found. It offered him full scope for all his powers, and his powers magnified it. This gem of first water found its proper setting. No one who knew him, or who will hereafter know the truth of him, can ever speak slightly of the Methodist episcopacy. Such a one must acknowledge its consummate grace when occupied by a man whose many-sidedness measured up to its capacity.

No amount of work Bishop Simpson could have rendered the Church, however excellent in quality, would have compensated for a failure in the legal requirements of his office. There is not the least evidence that his eminent services as an orator, or as a man of affairs, ever led him to slight the official duties of his position as General Superintendent. Nothing that he did was done more satisfactorily than his work in what has come to be known as the *cabinet*. In making the appointments of the preachers, no Bishop was more patient and painstaking, more thoughtful of the welfare of both pastors and people, or more judicious in his allotments. He was accessible to the least church or the least preacher. Indeed, far from repelling, he ever invited all freely to approach him, and to say what was in their hearts. He desired to do the best for all parties, and he needed all possible light to direct him. And somehow, there was that utter self-abandonment and frankness which awakened confidence in the most timid preacher who might go to him with any personal burden or perplexity about his appointment. No doubt he sometimes made mistakes (and no one was more ready to acknowledge them than he), yet evidently his disciplinary work at the close of each Annual Conference over which he presided bore the impress of the soundest judgment. If he did not excel some others in this delicate and difficult department, he was unquestionably the equal of any. Only a very few of his law-decisions or rulings have ever been reversed. Sometimes a question has been raised as to the strict legality of some of his appointments, as in the case of the People's Church in Boston; but here it is admitted that he acted according to the equity of the case, and under the shield of high necessity he took responsibility, at the risk of creating a precedent. If he ever swerved from the letter of the law, it was not because he did not know differently, but because knowing, he would, under the behests of the extremity, press the law to the utmost verge of allowableness. The garment was more important than a few of its fringes, the temple than some of its pinnacles or griffins.

Touching the lowest round of the official ladder, he was an example of punctuality, of promptness and attention to details in the dispatch of business, and in meeting the requirements of devotional exercises, both private and public. In all these

things there was no evidence of undue haste, nothing erratic or bordering on eccentricity—all was calm, deliberate, equitable, and firm. When his humblest engagements were fulfilled, no apology had to be offered that any thing was improperly done or omitted under the plea that genius is impulsive, and necessarily forgetful of, or indifferent to, little things. Undoubtedly these little things were sometimes irksome—for his great soul must have been most of the time occupied with high thoughts—but they were regarded as indispensable parts of life's work, and as a thoughtful, good man he had schooled himself to do what was fitting and wholesome.

While Bishop Simpson thus performed, with the utmost fidelity, the plainest work of his office, he rose with the occasion, as this office opened its broader opportunities. A Methodist Bishop is the accredited head of his denomination where he resides, and wherever he goes; and as the representative of his people he becomes, tacitly at least, an important person, not only in his own denomination, but also in general society and in the State. Leadership is conceded to him, and he is looked to as a guide, a quickener, as well as a conservator, in all laudable enterprises. Bishop Simpson was born to lead. With a profound insight into human nature, a clear perception of the principles and motives governing men, an accurate discrimination in all questions affecting human destiny, and with convictions as strong as his discriminations were just, with a sincere love for progress arising from a yearning for personal improvement and corresponding advancement in those about him, he could not be still—he must go forward, and see others go forward. From a young man he had the courage of his convictions, and after he became Bishop, the man was not lost in the office; he still had thoughts and dared to express them. Repression of opinion or discussion was never his policy for himself or for his brethren. There was no seal upon his lips, simply because his heart was hot within him, responding in quick pulsations to the claims of humanity. He never seemed to think that he had any need to nurse either his dignity or his consistency. He would converse freely with the laymen, and with the youngest ministers of the Church about the most delicate and perplexing matters, after which his determinations were usually cheerfully accepted.

His caution was also equal to his courage ; perhaps each contributed largely to the other. Where did he ever speak a rash word or do a rash act ? He was no agitator for agitation's sake. His mind was rather constructive than destructive. He would build up rather than pull down. If he saw a vicious principle in a system he would do as the skillful workman would do by a faulty stone or plank—prop and brace the sound materials about it, and then cut it loose and draw it out, rather than ruthlessly knock down the whole building. And yet when the case required it he could deal weighty blows against wickedness, spiritual or otherwise, though enthroned in high places.

His brave spirit and consummate tact as a leader were never more highly displayed than in the lay representation movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Convinced that the principles of lay participation in the highest councils of the Church was a correct one, and also that the men who were advocating it were sincere and loyal Methodists, instead of standing aloof from them, under the plea that the functions of his office were wholly executive, and that by favoring them he might offend more than he would please, he joined them. With no ambition but the glory of God and the prosperity of the Church, he at once gained the intelligent confidence of the gentlemen who were determined upon the reform ; and such was his ascendancy over them that by a tacit consent he received from them the assurance that under no circumstances of provocation or delay would they secede from the Church. "Another secession !" That charge was nailed to the counter. Under his inspiration the lay delegations were the most loyal of the loyal, shouted more vociferously for the fathers and old-fashioned Methodism than all their brethren. He earnestly deprecated the possibility of violence and rashness. These brethren were, he believed, equally lovers of the Church with those who differed from them in judgment, and sought only its good. Hence he urged kindness, consideration, patience ; old and honest prejudices were not to be instantly overcome. Thus while the advocates of lay representation appreciated the kind utterances of the Bishops in their successive quadrennial addresses, and while they respected the studied silence which some maintained as individuals during the controversy, they

were not slow to admit that they owed the early triumph of their cause largely to the advocacy of Bishop Simpson.

He was one of the first to pronounce in favor of higher ministerial education; to lead off in the improvement of church architecture among us; to countenance such arrangements as would tend to foster the social life of the young, and to bind them more closely to the Church. It was a grief to him to see so many of the children of our oldest and best families drifting away from Methodism as though there was not enough in the Church of their parents to satisfy them. Hence while he ceased not to emphasize whatever is peculiar to Methodist doctrine, experience, and polity, he also sought to harmonize these with the highest intellectual and social culture. He took great pains to cultivate the friendship of the young people of our leading families, as the destined social forces of the Church. He argued that if Methodist teaching and usage lifted men upon a higher plane, there ought to be nothing antagonistic in this usage and teaching to the religious life upon this plane. The prosperous and educated classes could as well be Methodists, if they correctly understood Methodism, as members of any other Christian Church. Methodism was to him the best realization of the kingdom of Christ on earth, and hence he thought it best suited to embody his highest ideas of redeemed humanity. It was strong enough and wide enough to sustain and comprehend all the varied fruits which were the product of its inherent vitality. It had made him all he was; under its wholesome care every generous aspiration of his nature had been nurtured; consequently it grieved him deeply to see the children of earnest Methodists turn away from the Church which had nourished their fathers and mothers, and so given them respectability.

While Bishop Simpson was a sincere patriot, and would undoubtedly have gone into public life had he not been a minister of the Gospel, and while much that he did for his country in the way of counsel and advocacy was from pure love for the nation and humanity, yet he was not indifferent to the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church as an important factor in public affairs. He not only wished that the influence of this great denomination, in the action of its individual members as citizens and in its position as an organization, should uphold

the country, but he was also jealous of the honor of the people of whom he was a constituted leader. Though by nature timid, and the last to push himself, yet conscious of the underlying support of a great denomination he did not hesitate, when called upon by the General Administration, to offer advice in the hour of peril, and to accept for Methodism appropriate honors in the time of triumph. It is well known that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton admitted him to their counsels in the conduct of the war, particularly in its civil aspects; and that not alone because they understood his power with the people, but because also they found him to be a disinterested and judicious friend. He could be trusted equally to calm the tumult or fire the hearts of the masses, and to speak wisdom in the councils of princes. The steadfast and intimate friend of the great and good martyr President while he lived, the personal relation as well as the national reputation of the Bishop was recognized in that he was called upon to deliver the funeral sermon at Mr. Lincoln's burial. All who knew Bishop Simpson will remember how sincerely in this regard, as well as in his speeches on great occasions and his public and private efforts for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, he served his country; but at the same time he was truly glad to have the Church which he loved as the apple of his eye, brought to the front, and recognized in the loyalty which it felt and the sacrifices it made.

But after all that may be said of the excellence of Bishop Simpson as a man and an administrator, the one real and immediate cause of his ascendancy was, *his power as a preacher of the Gospel*. Burning with the love of Christ and the love of man, he preached as but few men of this age or any other have done. Though admitted to be a good average scholar and a sensible, devout Christian, it was his preaching which first brought him into prominence among his brethren, and sustained him in that prominence almost to the close of his life. Many years ago a certain professor of a Western college said to a distinguished teacher in the East, as they were discussing the great preachers of Methodism, "We have out in Indiana a man named Simpson who can outpreach them all." It would be difficult to overstate his popularity with the Hoosiers in those earlier days, when he was president of the Indiana

Asbury University. The anecdotes of his pulpit and platform triumphs would make a volume in the annals of sacred oratory. Wherever he appeared crowds gathered about him, and he would preach with such wondrous influence that it was not uncommon for the great multitudes to be wrought up to the highest pitch of ecstasy or anguish. His name became a household word throughout the State. He moved eastward to Ohio, and in Cincinnati, as well as in all the regions round about, the same remarkable effects followed. Called farther east, by his election to the episcopacy, and going up and down the Atlantic States from Maine to Maryland, whether he stood before the cold and philosophical New Englanders, the versatile descendants of the Knickerbockers of New York and New Jersey, the plain and quiet Friends of Pennsylvania, or the thoughtful and emotional Baltimoreans, it was all the same; every-where triumphs awaited him. All classes heard him gladly, and he was by common consent ranked with the first preachers of the nation. The rank then assigned him was never afterward disputed. Such success must have been based on solid merits. Many western meteors have flashed across the eastern horizon only as quickly to disappear in darkness; but this man, a star of the first magnitude, when he had once risen steadily, shone on in his place till the final setting in death. There may be, here and there, a few who never felt, and consequently never admitted, his transcendent power, but they must be regarded as exceptions to the rule. As common sense is the best sense, so the common judgment of mankind is the best test of excellence in preaching.

In attempting to account for Bishop Simpson's pre-eminence as a preacher, it must be considered, first of all, that he recognized preaching as the great business of his life. He was called of God to be a preacher long before he was called of the Church to be a Bishop. This call was, like his conversion, radical and abiding. It so possessed him that it left nothing in him unappropriated. Hence preaching could never be treated as secondary, or accessory to something else, much less as an accident of his vocation. It was the one thing of all others to be done with his might. This was the grand absorbent which drew in, dissolved, and assimilated all the resources of his affluent mind. God converted his soul and said to him, "Go,

tell it ;" and he began to tell it, and he went on telling it. There was to him no fact, with its correlations, so important as this ; not alone was it fresh when it first took place, but the freshest of all truths to his latest day ; and to proclaim it was the necessity and joy begotten of its irresistible impulse. Though he grew in intelligence, station, fortune, and fame, he never grew away from his early conviction of the supreme dignity and importance of preaching. When, therefore, he stood before the people "to speak the words of this life," whether in the backwoods or the metropolis of the land, he did the best of which he was capable. His estimate of the pulpit he has himself indicated in the Yale lectures : "It seems to me that the possibilities connected with preaching have been only partially realized, and that a bright and more glorious day will dawn upon the Church." This thorough absorption not only led him to bring all his acquirements to the pulpit, but it impressed his audience with such a sense of his moral and professional earnestness as predisposed them to a favorable hearing.

This view of the work of preaching as the one grand engagement of his life led him uniformly to preach for the highest results. "If you would be eloquent," said the venerable Dr. Tyng, "preach always as if you were in a revival." Thus, by both a spiritual and artistic instinct, Bishop Simpson, brushing aside all trivialities, seized upon, as the staple of his discourses, the great fundamental truths of the Gospel. Such themes as sin, atonement, salvation, the harmony of natural and revealed law, the final triumph of Christianity, and kindred topics, were those he usually discussed with all his energy of mind and heart. This sort of selection as to his subjects guaranteed an order of discussion which could not fail to be worthy the attention of the most cultivated among his hearers. He never failed to impress an audience by the quality of his thought as well as by the sincerity of his purpose.

The subject-matter of his discourses owed much of its impressiveness to the mode of its expression. It might possibly be affirmed that no one can be an original thinker who has not imagination, for imagination is the faculty by which old truths are seen in new lights, by which relations between a well-understood order and an order not so well understood, or hitherto

not at all, are brought to view. It is the creative faculty that clothes dead things with life, and makes the tame and commonplace facts of existence fresh, realistic. This faculty Bishop Simpson possessed to a wondrous degree. Fancy, too, he had. He could describe a scene or a thing with great accuracy and with the delicate touches of a landscape painter. But his *forte* was original perceptions—that all-seeing imagination before whose blaze hidden things fall open as the quartz dissolves into its elements before the blow-pipe. The mind of the hearer likes this mode of putting thought. It excites wonder and secures assent; it entertains while it instructs. There was in all his sermons marks of a great intellect. The effect produced by them was not that which results merely from exciting the emotions, but rather that which comes of a thorough conviction of the understanding. Beginning with a statement of truths held in common by the natural and spiritual man, upon these as a foundation he builded the superstructure, carrying the judgment of the hearer with him in every step of the ascent until he reached the conclusion; a culmination in which not only the harmony of natural and revealed religion was seen, but the infinite superiority of the latter was triumphantly vindicated. Thus in every sermon, whether by design or instinct, there was unity, movement, cumulation. One leading idea gathered about it all subordinate ones, and grew by their contributions until it expanded into one magnificent whole of evangelical truth. And usually when this grand *finale* was reached his hearers were captured—the spiritual man rejoiced and the natural man assented.

And yet with all these qualities—his devout piety, honesty as a man, logical precision, affluence of imagination, and his single purpose to save men—the core of his preaching is not quite touched, nor the hidden springs of his power detected. To understand what it was that gave his preaching its charm you must go back of its subject-matter, and its merely intellectual and religious character, to the genius of the man. He was by nature an orator. Heaven had endued him with the gift of thinking, feeling, and speaking *eloquently*. What this means who can define? If asked what is beauty, one may reply that it is unity in variety, fitness, the evolution of forces, etc., but none of these will fully answer; and yet we all *feel* beauty when

we see it in an object or a thought. It is alike difficult to tell what poetry is, though we say many things helpful to a correct understanding of it. So eloquence has never been satisfactorily explained. One man gets up before us with a physique as perfect as that of Apollo Belvidere, his head and face of classic mold, his voice attuned like that of an organ, his ideas original and grand, and his action faultless—and we feel his power, we are entranced as by the spell of a magician. We say this is eloquence. So it is. But another comes without a single feature in his bodily appearance to recommend him, and claims a hearing. He is under size, or tall and ungainly, his head defiant of the acknowledged rules of phrenology, his eye rather expressionless than otherwise, his voice squeaky or harsh, his ideas at first are commonplace and his action violates all grace, and yet, as the man speaks, he gradually gains your attention, disarms your prejudices, wins your favor, until he penetrates you as with a flame of fire, and you melt before him, or he sweeps you away as with a whirlwind, and, regardless of the question as to whether he is logical or graceful, you are borne down. Here, too, is eloquence; you feel it. Sharp as is the contrast between the two men, there is one thing in which they are the same. They possess the strange power of transfusing their hearers with their own personality, so that the hearers think and feel as they do. It is something—a spark—which inheres in the original structure of the mind. It is born in a man, and not acquired.

Such was the endowment of Bishop Simpson. This spark lightened with its flame the whole man, soul and body. Every thing he did, he did eloquently. He thought, wrote, spoke, moved as an orator. In scanning the files of the "Western Christian Advocate" for the four years he was editor, one will find the same essential features in his editorials which all along distinguished his spoken discourses. They are suffused with a warmth which puts the soul aglow with the vitality of the man who is behind the pen. In all his words, looks, and actions, whether he talked familiarly with a friend or two, or looked calmly upon an audience before rising to speak, or stooped to kiss a child or to grasp a brother's hand in passing, there was a gleam of the inward light. Men will say it was sympathy with mankind, earnestness, a losing of

himself in his subject and for others. All true; it was all this, and something besides. To Bishop Simpson's oratory may be felicitously applied the language which Mr. Curtis uses in his oration on Wendell Phillips: "Unconsciously and surely the ear and heart were charmed. How was it done? Ah, how did Mozart do it, how Raphael? The secret of the rose's sweetness, of the bird's ecstasy, of the sunset's glory—that is the secret of genius and of eloquence. . . . Like an illuminating vase of odors, he glowed with concentrated and perfumed fire. The divine energy of his conviction utterly possessed him and his.

" 'Pure and eloquent blood
Spoke in *his* cheeks, and so distinctly wrought,
That one might almost say *his* body thought.' "

Thousands who have listened to Bishop Simpson will recall many illustrations of this singular power. A leading educator of our Church heard him soon after his election to the episcopacy on his first visit to New England. The theme was "The Victory of Faith." He says: "I stood in the aisle of the church during the entire time, from one hour and a half to two hours, wholly insensible of the flight of time." On another occasion, this gentleman himself had preached on Sunday morning at one of the Bishop's Conferences, the Bishop being unable to preach. After the ordination, the Bishop began to exhort, and in a few minutes the whole audience was convulsed with emotion; preachers and people laughed and wept as though beside themselves. Those who attended the reunion of the Ohio and Cincinnati Conferences at Chillicothe, O., during the war (1864, perhaps) will never forget the scene. Bishop Simpson had been addressing the joint bodies upon the issues before the country, and in his peroration he turned to the "Stars and Stripes" above him, and, taking hold of its folds, he burst into a thrilling apostrophe to the old flag. The effect was electrical; the ministers shouted, wept, stamped, embraced each other, and, it was afterward reported, some even rolled over on the floor. The scene was simply indescribable.

It was our privilege to hear Charles Sumner and Bishop Simpson in New York about the same week, during the exciting presidential campaign of 1864. Mr. Sumner spoke in

Cooper Union. The audience was select. The oration was masterly. Beginning with a description of two ships which steered for the American coast, one from a port of England freighted with the Puritans seeking freedom in the New World, the other from the coast of Africa freighted with negroes doomed to servitude; he went on to trace the rise and progress of the great controversy between freedom and slavery up to that hour, and the issue that was then upon us. Throughout, the sentences were compact, the argument conclusive, and the rhetoric perfect. Every body was convinced, but there was little or no emotion. Bishop Simpson spoke to a vast concourse in the Academy of Music on the value of the Union. The argument was an aggregation of facts, grouped in such order and so luminously and forcibly put that men bit their lips, clenched their fists, or stamped, shouted, and wept, as if to say, 'It is so, the Union never shall be sundered.' For logical precision and classical finish his oration was not the equal of Sumner's; and yet in effect it far excelled it, and that, too, with many thoughtful people.

Another recollection: it was our good fortune to hear the Bishop when he preached as our representative before the British Wesleyan Conference at Burslem, England, in 1870. Bishop Foster, then Dr. Foster, his co-delegate, said to me, "Let us go up into the gallery, and take seats where we can see the effect of the sermon on the Conference." And so we took seats in one end of the deep gallery of the old chapel, whence we could overlook the platform on which sat the "one hundred," and have a general view of the audience. The preacher's text was: "But none of these things move me," etc. Acts xx, 24. I do not remember the order of the sermon. He discussed a call to the ministry—gave a graphic picture of Paul's career—his trials and successes—pausing as the apostle was confronted by each successive conflict, and hearing him cry, "But none of these things move me." We followed with the rest, and were glad to see that our great Bishop was carrying the British with him. When his explanations and arguments were well through, the antitheses and climaxes made, suddenly he adverted to his own call to preach. He depicted his youth, his orphanage, his long struggles. Finally the Spirit of God fastened the conviction upon him, and now the difficulty was

to break it to his mother. How would she be affected by it? Could she give him up? Could he ever leave her? He was her only son and child. Approaching her one day, he said, "Mother, I think I shall have to preach." Without hesitation she said, "Why, Matthew, I have been expecting this since you were a child. Your father and I dedicated you to God when you were born." At this recital my heart went to my throat, my eyes overflowed. I tried to hide my emotions from Dr. Foster, but as I did so I glanced at him; and he, if possible, was more overcome than I was. We both wept, forgetful of others. We also, like the rest, had fallen under the spell of the great preacher; this, too, when we had meant to study in cold blood the secret of his power over an audience.

After such experiences it were easy to concede him to be a modern Chrysostom. Of that great ancient preacher, Suidas observes that "he had a tongue which exceeded the cataracts of the Nile in fluency, so that he delivered many of his panegyrics on the martyrs extempore without the least hesitation. His hearers were sometimes rapt in such profound attention that pickpockets took advantage of it; sometimes they were melted to tears, or beat their breasts and faces, and uttered groans and cries to heaven for mercy; at other times they clapped their hands or shouted." *

In concluding this rapid sketch, a few points in summing up seem to be worthy of special note:

He is an example of the high achievements possible to a well-endowed, industrious, painstaking, and devout youth. He began life an orphan boy, with no rich and influential friends, and advanced to the most commanding position. There were no abrupt breaks in his career; so far as we can see, no serious mistakes. He moved steadily and serenely forward and upward, gathering strength and increasing in influence until the hour of his death. If he possessed natural gifts above the average youths, he did not seem to know it, and certainly he never trusted to mere genius for success. His application to all work was incessant. He was thoroughly honest in the use of time and means. When he first began to preach he was so simple and guileless that he conscientiously abstained from special preparation for preaching. He did not

* "Life of St. Chrysostom," by W. R. W. Stephens, M. A., London.

select his text or premeditate his subject before entering the pulpit, deeming it necessary that he should absolutely trust the Lord both for his text and his sermon. "Open thy mouth and I will fill it." But he learned better as he grew older, and when a more excellent way opened to him, he was equally honest in following it. In those earlier years he was not as uniformly effective in his ministrations as afterward. Judging from a comment in the unpublished journal of the late Bishop Waugh, he made comparative failures in the pulpit even after he was a professor at Meadville. "Wheeling, Va.—Heard Prof. Simpson preach in the evening—it was only a tolerable performance." But he studied and triumphed. No young man can fully know what stuff he is made of until he has studied with all his might, and studied *persistently*.

In the matter of physical advantages he has also illustrated the efficiency of an intelligent, straightforward courage. Instead of yielding to an early tendency to pulmonary disease, and desisting from preaching, he persevered and cured it. "Open-air exercise, continuous and *judicious* speaking, saved me, as I believe, from a premature death," he has more than once been heard to say. Nor was there any thing in his person, until it expanded and glowed with the inspiration of an audience, which impressed one with his power. He would never have been picked out of an assembly, by those who knew him not, as a great man. His form was tall, but slight and stooped; his head was small for the size of his body, with a low forehead, projecting shaggy eyebrows, and there was not the dome-like cranium which is popularly associated with the highest intellects. His eyes, when he was in repose, were bright enough, but not at all piercing, and were rather quiet, and indicative of kindly, benevolent feeling, than of incisive thought and great will-power. It was not until he was fully aroused and on fire with some mighty subject that you had "the warrior's eye beneath the philosopher's brow." Then the whole form and features, like some ancient classic urn, shone resplendent from the brightness within. Who can ever forget his looks as, thus transfigured, he spoke to us of Christ and heaven, until the gates of paradise seemed to open above him, and we with him gazed in at the celestial glory and saw the King in his beauty.

Bishop Simpson was a remarkable example of the union of the highest mental qualities in the most perfect harmony. He was both a philosopher and an orator. His brilliant eloquence was associated with profound and far-reaching thought. His career is a standing refutation of the baseless assumption that a man cannot be a popular preacher and a deep, close thinker. "Genius," says Guizot, "is bound to follow human nature in all its developments. Its strength consists in finding within itself the means of satisfying the whole of the public. It should exist for all, and should suffice at once for the wants of the masses and for the requirements of the most exalted minds." There were those who were ready to say of Dr. Durbin, before his profound practical wisdom was wrought into the immortal Methodist missionary scheme, that he was simply an "inspired declaimer." And I presume there are some persons sufficiently narrow to deny to the most eloquent orator of England that he is at the same time the most sagacious, comprehensive statesman. Mr. Gladstone could not to-day be the mightiest factor in British and continental politics without his popular oratory; nor would his eloquence avail unless sustained by the deepest and clearest insight into the principles which underlie both divine and human governments. Bishop Simpson was capable of the keenest analysis and the most abstruse discussions, as his articles on conscience and kindred topics, written when he was an editor, abundantly show. He could have excelled as a metaphysician, if metaphysics had been his chosen field; and had he devoted himself to the natural sciences in which he began as a college professor, he might have become a Henry, a Silliman, or possibly an Agassiz. He had an EYE for *principles* whichever way he turned. It was this power of discernment and penetration that so stamped with common sense all he did that some, in characterizing his intellectual make-up, have been attracted more by his *judiciousness* than by all else.

Another fact which is well worthy of note is, that there is not, and need not be in this age or any age, a decline in the power and influence of the pulpit. The sustained popularity of Bishop Simpson and Mr. Spurgeon for so many years, not to name others, shows that when the human heart is rightly addressed it will respond. To say nothing of the great truths—pardon,

holiness, providence, and heaven, which form the substance of preaching and which are so indispensable to the soul—preaching, when really eloquent, appeals to the æsthetic nature of man. As an art it has its foundation in the higher susceptibilities of human nature, precisely as music or painting or any other fine art has. Indeed, there is no power like the power of the tongue. There is nothing in the whole range of nature which gives such satisfaction as talking. The faculty of speech is man's noblest endowment.

People love to talk and to be talked to, and hence conversation is the most agreeable relaxation, and that which usually caps all other exercises. Where preaching, rising upon the conversational tone and manner as a basis, keeps true to nature, it never can cease to be attractive. The vice of the pulpit has been an artificial, stilted, professional style of delivery. The same may apply too well to the rhetorical structure of sermons. But average people will listen to almost any thing which is spoken in a natural manner. The soul will always kindle to eloquent thoughts, eloquently spoken. And if preachers ignore this vantage ground which the God of nature has given them, in the love which is implanted in all men for the beautiful, and shall fail to meet its requirements, then surely must the pulpit decay. It is not enough for men called of God to skulk under the cover that the Gospel is indispensable to mankind, and that men must be damned if they do not listen to it. No honest preacher wants to shield his neglect of study and culture under the sacredness and importance of his message; on the contrary, the more he is impressed with its holy and stupendous character the more he yearns so to present it as that, in his manner at least, there shall be nothing to repel, but every thing to attract, those to whom his message is to be either a savor of life unto life or a savor of death unto death. God's great method of saving the world by preaching is so grounded in supernatural and natural reasons as that there need never be a decadence of the pulpit. Such examples as that of Bishop Simpson in our own times strikingly illustrate the position. Nothing but lack of moral convictions, spiritual earnestness, and professional enthusiasm can bring about a falling away from the eloquence of the fathers in the Gospel.

ART II.—CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[FIRST PAPER.]

CHURCHES are spiritual empires, and in these realms, as in the state, prosperity and liberty are safe only in the guardianship of law. It is true that the aim of the Christian Church is holy, and its principles are professedly drawn from the word of God, but its subjects and rulers are erring men, and its prizes have a fascination for human ambition hardly surpassed by those of secular empires. Nowhere else has man been so degraded and his natural rights trodden upon as in religious organizations.

Our aim in these articles is to throw light on the somewhat obscure and confused question of the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to define that law, trace the history of its development, and bring together some of the principles that have been established during the first century of our history. There are many difficulties in such an inquiry. The field is a comparatively new one; the literature of the subject is fragmentary and scattered, and the data are uncertain and frequently contradictory. We have no Supreme Court to whose records we may appeal for final judgments. It is one of the defects of our system that the General Conference, which is our legislative body, is also our ultimate Court of Appeals. "The General Conference," says Dr. L. L. Hamline in his famous speech in 1844 (General Conference Journal, Debates, p. 136), "is a Court of Appeals beyond which no parties can travel for the cure of errors. It is the *dernier ressort*, not only of appellants, but of original complainants. If it err, which is not a legal presumption, its unwholesome error is incurable except by the *vis medicatrix*—the medicinal virtue—of its own judicial energies."

The Methodist Episcopal Church is a Church of constitutional and statute law. From the earliest days of its history the functions and responsibilities of its officers were clearly defined in the yearly Minutes and Discipline, as were also the duties and privileges of its members.

Our judicial system dates from the organization of the Church. There have, however, been conflicting opinions in

the Church and in the General Conference on constitutional questions, especially as to the prerogatives of the episcopacy and the powers of the General Conference. Upon these vexed questions we hope to throw some light, and to put the entire subject in such form as to lead to settled results. It is a subject that needs careful and painstaking inquiry. It would not be difficult to prove that the gravity of constitutional obligations has not always been sufficiently felt in our past history.

Let the reader recall, as examples, the action of the General Conference of 1844, in connection with the separation of the Church South, the action of the Conference of 1868 in admitting representatives from Mission Conferences, and the action of 1872 in relegating Conference boundaries to a committee with power.

Another fact which commends this question to the careful study of the ministers and people of the Church is, that there is probably no Church in Christendom where there is so much discretionary power committed to its officers as in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been our boast that we have an efficient executive and a strong government. Our economy demands this, inasmuch as it is indispensable to the continuance of that fundamental institution of Methodism, the itinerancy—the institution which, next to the grace of God, is the fount and origin of our prosperity. But a powerful executive is also a dangerous one; and in exact proportion to the power of the center should be the explicitness of the laws that define and protect the rights and privileges of the individual members of the Church and of the ministry.

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is both written and unwritten. As written, it includes the organic statutes that were enacted for the government of the Church by the General Conference of 1808, or that have since been legally adopted. The Conference of 1808 may be called the Constitutional Convention of the Church, for the reason that it was the last General Conference composed of all the traveling preachers, and that it provided for the future government of the Church by a delegated Conference acting under constitutional restraints. It is usual to say that the written constitution is the six Restrictive Rules with the famous grant of power which precedes them, to wit:

The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely.

"The written constitution, according to my conception,* is found in what are called, in our Discipline, the Restrictive Rules." But this is a mistake. On several occasions in the history of the Church, especially in the great constitutional debates of 1868, it was found that this was not only a partial view of the matter, but also a thoroughly false view. The opinion presented by Dr. S. M. Merrill (now Bishop Merrill), and ably argued by him and others in the debates on Lay Delegation in 1868, and supported at that time by the final action of that General Conference, is the best law on this subject. Dr. Merrill held, that the written constitution of the Church included those sections of the Discipline (Part II, Chapter I) which relate to the several styles of Conferences and define their functions. The constitution of the General Conference is that portion of that chapter which refers to the General Conference, and under which the first delegated General Conference was organized; the constitution of the Annual Conference is that portion of the same chapter which relates to the Annual Conference, and so on. Dr. Merrill said:

The Quarterly Conference cannot change its own constitution; the Annual Conference cannot change its own constitution; and no more can the General Conference change its own constitution. The General Conference may change the constitution of the Annual Conference because it is subordinate, and likewise of the Quarterly Conference because it is subordinate; and likewise *the same power that made the General Conference* may change the constitution of that body.

As this is a matter of great importance we make some quotations from Dr. Merrill's speech:

It is wonderful that, in this second century of American Methodism, there should be disagreement among us as to what part of our Discipline contains the constitution of the Church. But it is so. I have been no little surprised, here and elsewhere, to hear men of learning and ability advance the opinion, as though it were settled and established beyond question, that the only constitutional provisions in the Discipline are found in the six articles known as the Restrictive Rules. This I regard as

* Speech of John M'Clintock in General Conference of 1868.

a grand mistake, and one that is so fundamentally wrong that it ought at once to be corrected.

His argument to show that the entire section relating to the General Conference had constitutional authority was as follows :

If we have authority by a majority vote to alter this first answer, relating to membership in the General Conference, we have equal right to change the second answer—and we have been asked to do that thing—the one which tells us when the General Conference shall meet; and having this right we may stereotype the action of this Conference by refusing to have another session for fifty or a hundred years. We may, by a simple majority vote, ordain that the next session of the General Conference shall be held in 1972 instead of 1872. Does any one pretend that we have a right to do this in the face of the express provision of the constitution, which says: "The General Conference shall meet in the city of New York on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1812, and thenceforward on the first day of May once in four years perpetually?" But according to the assumption under consideration we may do this, and by a mere majority vote.

Again, if we can change the first and second answers to this question, we can also change the third, which provides that it shall at all times require two thirds of all the members elected to form a quorum. Is it possible that any legislative body working under a written constitution given to it by a superior authority can claim any such right as this—right to change its quorum, which has been established for it by a power above itself? Was ever such a thing heard of before?

But this is not all. If this body has the power to make the changes mentioned, it may also change the fourth answer, which tells us that a Bishop shall preside over the General Conference. If this assumption is true, we may at any time by a mere majority vote displace you, sir, Mr. President, and displace any and all these Bishops, so far as the presidency of the General Conference is concerned, and put a man from our own body into the chair to preside. Now, are we prepared to claim any such power as this? I trust not, sir; but it is clearly our right to do so if the assumption is correct that we may change any part of this section except the restrictions.

But still further, I call your attention to another fact of no little importance in this connection. It is that this provision for altering the Restrictive Rules is itself outside of the Restrictive Rules. It is not of the nature of a restriction. It is connected with the restrictions, I grant, and its provisions relate to them, and only to them, but it is outside of them; and if we have the power to change by a majority vote all outside of the Restrictive Rules, then we have the power to change this provision for change. And if we have the right to do this, these restrictions are not worth the paper on which they are written. The moment

we claim the right to change the provision for change we put the whole list of restrictions under the power of the majority, and they may do what they please.*

In harmony with the principles of Bishop Merrill's speech, lay delegation was incorporated in our Church system by the constitutional two thirds and three fourths votes. It may be claimed, therefore, that this question of what constitutes the written constitution of the Church was settled in the General Conference of 1868.

The unwritten constitution, *lex non scripta*, embraces those facts, obligations, and customs which are implied in the written law, and have been recognized in the history of the Church as involved in the original compact, and essential to the integrity of the system. That our episcopacy, for example, is not a third order in the ministry, *jure divino*, is a part of this unwritten law, for this is implied in its history and in its dependence upon the Church; but, on the other hand, it is equally a part of the unwritten constitution that the General Conference shall, by sufficiently frequent elections, maintain an efficient episcopacy in the Church, though this duty is not specifically enjoined upon them in the organic law.

We quote, on this point, from the speech of Dr. D. Curry on the occasion referred to above, when Bishop Merrill addressed the General Conference:

I agree with Brother Merrill's interpretation of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But there is more in this matter that has yet been brought before us. Behind the words and between the lines of a constitution there is always a deeper meaning and a broader reach of sense than is found in the letter itself. The written constitution is broader, deeper, and more solid than that which is expressed, and that is precisely the point which I wish to press in this case. There is nowhere found in the Book of Discipline the declaration that you shall not change the name of our Church, and I do not believe that you will hold that this body has power to do so. There is nothing in that constitution which forbids our striking out our name and taking any other name we please, but I do not suppose, therefore, we have power to do it. There are certain things that lie back of our corporate life, and those things are the very power which gave us our existence. The constituency of the General Conference existed before the General Conference had any being, which constituency exists yet, and that is the presbytery or body of

* Daily Christian Advocate, 1868, p. 98.

elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which, according to our theory of government, inheres all our governmental powers.*

We now proceed to another part of our subject, namely, the interpretation of the constitution. And here we meet the two parties of strict and liberal constructionists that are found in all governments: the party that leans to centralization and the increase of executive prerogative, and the party that leans to diffused power and local self-government. These two parties have manifested themselves throughout the entire history of the Church. They were face to face in 1820 when Joshua Soule declined the episcopacy because of the vote of the Conference for an elective presiding eldership; again in 1844 when the Southern preachers supported Bishop Andrew against the vote of suspension; again in 1868, though in a somewhat different form, over the lay delegation question; and again in 1876 on an elective eldership. The last conflict of these two tendencies, and in some respects the most significant in the history of the Church, was in the General Conference of 1884 at Philadelphia.

There are five fundamental features in every Church organization, (*a*) the polity, (*b*) the creed, (*c*) the conditions of membership, (*d*) the rights and privileges of the ministry and members, and (*e*) the governing authority. In the Methodist Episcopal Church these are all defined in the section of the Discipline on "The General Conference," but chiefly in the Restrictive Rules of that section. The government of the Church is committed to the General Conference, subject to the limitations of its constitution. The composition and constituency of the General Conference are prescribed in the second Restrictive Rule. The polity of the Church is the episcopal polity, which fact, together with our peculiar style of episcopacy, is set forth in the third Restrictive Rule. The first Rule prescribes the creed; the fourth Rule protects "the General Rules," which define the moral discipline and conditions of membership in the Church; the fifth and sixth Rules protect the rights and privileges of the ministry and laity.

Before attempting the interpretation of these Rules, we must consider the question of the powers of the General Conference in its relations to the Church, under the terms of the

* Daily Christian Advocate, 1868, p. 102.;

constitution. Over this question the battle was fought in the Conferences of 1844 and 1848.

In obedience to the demands of the Southern preachers for a separation from the Church the General Conference of 1844 adopted the famous "Plan of Separation," by which they consented to the removal from the Methodist Episcopal Church of all the societies, stations, and Conferences adhering to the Church in the South by a vote of a majority of the members of said societies, stations, and Conferences, . . . provided also, that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations, and Conferences bordering on the line of division, and not to interior charges, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that Church within whose territory they are situated.*

The ministers, local and traveling, were at liberty to make choice between the two Churches, and the consent of the Annual Conferences was asked for a division of the property. By this high-handed procedure the General Conference rent the Church in sunder, in flagrant violation of that broad principle of law that a delegated body, established to promote the prosperity of the Church, has no authority to destroy it, and also of that part of the constitution which guarantees the privileges of the Church, with the right of trial and appeal, to all its members. The General Conference of 1848 reversed, so far as was practicable, the action of its predecessor in this matter, and declared the Plan of Separation "null and void." After a long and very able debate the Conference adopted the following resolutions:

1. There exists no power in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to pass any act which, either directly or indirectly, effectuates, authorizes, or sanctions a division in said Church.

2. It is the right of every member of the Methodist Episcopal Church to remain in said Church unless guilty of a violation of its rules; and there exists no power in the ministry, either individually or collectively, to deprive any member of said right.†

The remaining resolutions declared the action of the Conference of 1844, in separating members from the Church without trial and without their consent, to be unconstitutional and therefore void.

The following extract from the speech of Dr. D. Curry,

* General Conference Journal, p. 135.

† *Ibid.*, p. 73.

while the above resolutions were in debate, elaborates the principles of our law which were established by the final action of the General Conference of 1848:

I contend that the "Plan of Separation" violates the inherent and constitutional rights of our ministers and members. I do not refer exclusively to the fifth Restrictive Rule of our Discipline, though to me it seems as plainly to override that Rule and to contradict its provisions as *yes* and *no* are contradictions. For while the "Plan" placed hundreds of thousands of our people beyond our pale, without the shadow of a trial, the Rule declares that the General Conference "shall not do away the privileges of our ministers and preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, and of an appeal." What, I pray, is the privilege of a trial, here so sacredly guarded, but the means of securing one's standing and membership in the Church? and if that membership is taken away otherwise than by a trial, then is this rule violated.

But I go back to the fundamental compact of the Church with its individual members, by which are guaranteed to them the privileges of the Church so long as they conform to its rules of Discipline. There is in all social compacts a *lex non scripta*—an unwritten law, lying back of written constitutions and laws, of which the written law is a more or less perfect transcript. The obligation between the Church in its intangible individuality and its members is mutual, and while they remain faithful to their duties it has no right to deprive them of their privileges.

We add a paragraph from Dr. F. G. Hibbard's "Life of Bishop Hamline" (p. 141):

The powers of the General Conference, be they more or less, being delegated, not primal, the object and intention of the act of investiture must become the gauge and limit of the power invested. To transcend this limit is a fraud and a usurpation. This is not less a principle of law than of ethics. In the intentions of the constituency lay the ethics and legal limitations of the delegating act, beyond which the acts of General Conference had no *jure humano* ground or validity. That the power to divide the Church was not specifically mentioned in the Restrictive Rules is no evidence that it is specifically vested in the General Conference. . . . Nor had the constituency of 1808 itself the moral right thus to divide, without at least the concurrent voice of the entire body of the membership. To have assumed it would have been a usurpation and a violation of the tacit but real compact of Church fellowship. The ministry were not the total Church.

But while it is clear that the Conference of 1844 overstepped its legal powers, and thereby caused much evil to the Church,

yet it is not easy to define the exact boundaries of constitutional restraint. The grant of power to the General Conference is as follows :

The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions, namely.

What are the powers given to the General Conference by the terms of this grant? In answer to this pivotal question we quote, first, from the able and elaborate argument of Bishop Harris in his treatise on "The Constitutional Powers of the General Conference :"

The constitution gives to the General Conference *full powers* to make rules and regulations under defined limitations—power to make *all* rules and regulations pertinent to Church government under *specified* restrictions, and under no other restrictions.

There is not here a delegation of enumerated powers accompanied by a general reservation, as in the case of the Federal Government, but a delegation of general and sweeping powers under enumerated and well-defined restrictions. The whole power to rule and regulate the Church is given to the General Conference by the plain terms of the grant, and it is to be held as restricted only in those particulars in which it was designed not to delegate the power. In what particulars it was designed not to delegate the power must be determined by the terms of the constitution. No limitations can be implied other than those assigned in the instrument itself.—Page 22.

To ascertain, therefore, the powers of the General Conference in a given case, no search need be made for a specific warrant for the particular rule which it is proposed to enact. It is enough that the constitution does not forbid the rule; for the terms of the grant devolving legislative power upon the General Conference are sufficiently comprehensive to authorize the passage of any rule not clearly excepted by the enumerated restrictions.—Page 24.

This puts the authority of the General Conference in a very strong way, and one can only subscribe to it by insisting clearly that the constitution includes more than the grant and its limitations in the Restrictive Rules. The constitution must be understood as we have defined it above. The speech of Dr. Hamline in the Conference of 1844 is of such high authority that it may be regarded as one of the standards on this subject. We quote :

Here, Mr. President, let me say a word concerning our Church constitution. It is a remarkable instrument. It differs cardinally

from most or all civil constitutions. These generally proceed to demark the several departments of government—the legislative, judicial, and executive—and by positive grant, assign each department its duties. Our constitution is different. It does not divide the powers of our government into legislative, executive, and judicial. It provides for a General Conference, and for an episcopacy and general superintendency. It leaves all the powers of the three great departments of government, except what is essential to an episcopacy, etc., in this General Conference. It restricts us slightly in all our powers, but not in one department more than in another. Under this constitution the Conference is as much a judicatory as a legislature; and it is as much an executive body as either.

Dr. Hamline's speech attempts to prove that the General Conference "has legislative, judicial, and executive supremacy." "Beyond these slender restrictions, its legislation is legitimate and conclusive; and within them it is so, if the members of the Annual Conferences are consenting."*

Concerning the first Restrictive Rule, which treats of the Articles of Religion, two questions are asked—whether there is any power that can change the Articles? and whether it is competent for the General Conference to add to their number? In answer to the first, it may be said that the power that made the Rule can unmake it. Back of all jurisdictions in the Church is the Church itself. The Rule was left in this way in 1832 by the concurrent vote of all the Annual Conferences and two thirds of the General Conference.†

The answer to the second inquiry was made in the able report of the Bishops on this specific subject to the General Conference of 1876. It was there declared, and ably argued, that any additions to the Articles of Religion would be a virtual "change" of the Articles, and therefore an infraction of the Rule, and, of course, unlawful.‡

We now come to the consideration of the third Restrictive Rule, which defines the limitations of the General Conference touching the episcopacy. The Rule declares that the General Conference "shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Here we are on an

* Hamline's speech, *Journal, General Conference, 1844.*

† Sherman's "*History of the Discipline*," p. 134.

‡ *Journal of General Conference, 1876, pp. 206-208.*

ancient battle-field, where we must move with careful and reverent steps. Ours is an Episcopal Church, with the most vigorous episcopacy of any Church in Christendom. The episcopacy is an integral and indispensable part of our economy, as at present organized, for to it is committed not only the supervision of the entire Church, but also the power of propelling the itinerant ministry. And while it is responsible for its administration, under the law, to the General Conference, yet as an institution it is not dependent on the General Conference, but is co-ordinate with it in our governing system. It is therefore both co-ordinate and subordinate. The power that instituted the General Conference, namely, the entire body of the elders, also instituted the episcopacy, so that the General Conference can neither abolish it nor change its character as an "itinerant general superintendency." The circulating ministry is guaranteed a circulating episcopacy.

But in its relation to the Church as a whole, "our episcopacy" (we quote from a lecture of Bishop Harris) "is derived, dependent, and responsible. Its authority is a delegated authority only, and may be modified just as the body of the eldership, from which it was derived, shall see proper, and that, too, without any infringement on the rights of the Bishops themselves."

In searching for the interpretation which the Church has put upon the third Restrictive Rule, we meet with two theories of our episcopacy and two interpretations of the statute. One of these exalts the episcopacy in its relations to the General Conference and takes high ground for prerogative; the other magnifies the relative authority of the Conference.

The former party hold that this Restrictive Rule was designed by the Conference of 1808 to maintain not only an "itinerant general superintendency," but also that peculiar style of episcopacy which the Church then possessed, including all the powers and functions thereof, and all the rites and usages connected therewith. That episcopacy, which the fathers knew and approved, and which they had created, it was their wish to perpetuate.

The episcopacy as it was in 1808, with every form of authorization and recognition, with every attribute of authority and responsibility, must remain unchanged and unchangeable, except

by the consenting action of the preachers in the Annual Conferences.

In harmony with this construction, it is claimed that the tenure of office in the episcopacy is a life tenure; that the right to fix the appointments of the preachers, and to choose the presiding elders, inheres in the Bishops; that to the Bishops belongs the exclusive authority to ordain; that a service of consecration to the office is inseparable from it; and that the General Conference is the only body competent to elect Bishops. All this, it is claimed, is guaranteed by the third Restrictive Rule, inasmuch as this was the status of the episcopacy in 1808. This was the intention of the Rule, and its language justifies this interpretation.

On the other hand, it is argued by those who take a different view of the matter, that the General Conference of 1808 intended to give large discretionary powers to the delegated Conference; that this new body was made the successor of the old imperial Conference, and that it was endowed with all the authority exercised formerly, barring certain specified restrictions. Those restrictions must be interpreted strictly, and in consonance with the commanding place which the General Conference had always held in the Church. The new Conference, says Bishop Harris ("Powers," etc., page 24), "was the legitimate successor of the one of 1808, and it succeeded to all the powers of its predecessors except in so far as those powers were pared down by the limiting terms of the constitution."

In reading the Restrictive Rule the emphasis belongs, not to the word "plan," but to the phrase "itinerant general superintendency." The word "plan" must be related to what follows it, and derives all its significance therefrom, as illustrated in the following sentence quoted from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 (Journal of General Conference, 1844, page 156):

"Having noticed in what the superintendency chiefly consists, it is proper to observe that the plan of its operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan, or sectional.*" The italics are copied from the Journal. Additional light as to the intended significance of this word "plan" comes from the fact that an earnest attempt was made at the Conference of 1808 to establish a

diocesan episcopacy. A measure was proposed by M'Claskey and Cooper

to elect a Bishop for each Annual Conference, as a substitute for the presiding elderships, with Asbury as general superintendent. "It was largely and ably discussed," says Dr. Bangs, "by some of the leading members of the Conference on each side." There must have been a considerable party in favor of it, for when M'Claskey and Cooper proposed to withdraw their motion for it, a majority refused their request. But after much discussion it was defeated.*

Here, then, we have the two views and the two interpretations. They are both intelligible and lawful, and the loyalty of one who takes either side must not be questioned; and yet the history of the Church, and the opinions of the great leaders of the Church in its critical epochs, seem to favor the view which concedes considerable authority to the General Conference in its relations to the episcopacy.

In the first place, the argument that the Rule maintains inviolable whatever existed in our episcopacy in 1808 proves too much; for if it be valid, it enjoins not only that nothing be taken from, but also that nothing be added to, the functions of the Bishops by action of General Conference. But the Church has frequently witnessed the increase of episcopal functions by action of the General Conference, and always with satisfaction. For example, in 1816 the General Conference committed to the Bishops the great responsibility of preparing "a course of study" for candidates for the ministry; in 1844 they were ordered to prepare a course for candidates for orders, which should extend over four years. By this act of the Conference the Bishops are enabled to keep their hand on the theology of the Church, and to shape the opinions of its ministry. Are there any among us prepared to say that during seventy years our Bishops have been acting in violation of the constitution? And yet no such office as this is assigned to them in the organic law, nor did they ever exercise it prior to 1816.

Again, in 1840 the General Conference authorized the Bishops "to decide all questions of law in an Annual Conference, subject to an appeal to the General Conference." In 1872 the Conference limited this duty to 'law questions pending in an

* Stevens's *Life of Dr. Bangs*, p. 172.

Annual Conference." But the Bishops had no such prerogative in 1808, for then they voted, spoke, and made motions on the floor of the Conference as members.

The constitution found the Bishops among the law-makers, it deprived them of those functions, and in 1840 the General Conference conferred upon them the judicial function of making law-decisions in an Annual Conference.

It is plain, therefore, that the *status quo* of the episcopacy since 1808 has been changed again and again. Besides, while the supremacy of the General Conference prior to 1808 was always recognized, it is a notable fact that during the same years the functions of the episcopacy were frequently changed. For example, Bishop Hedding declares that "the power with which the Bishops are invested was formerly much greater than it is now; it being thought best, by the General Conference, to transfer part of it from time to time either to the elders or to the laity." The Bishop goes on to show that they had "power to negative any election of superintendent, elder, or deacon, and to prevent any preacher from printing any thing which they did not approve; that they also could decide the cases of preachers and people who should appeal to them, and were judge whether they should be expelled from, or retained in, the Church."*

In view of this "logic of facts" it must be looked upon as hardihood to affirm that the Church is bound to maintain the episcopacy just as it existed when the delegated Conference was instituted. The General Conference has always exercised a regulative authority over the Bishops, and doubtless it will continue to do so in the future. The following, from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1840, adds light to the question now before us:

The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is peculiarly constructed. It is widely different from our civil organization. The General Conference is the only legislative body recognized in our ecclesiastical system, and *from it originates the authority of the entire executive administration.*†

At the same Conference, on the occasion of a tie vote, Bishop Hedding was in the chair, and was called upon to give the casting vote. He knew this had been done in several instances

* Hedding's "Discourse on Discipline," p. 9.

† Journal General Conference, 1840, p. 139.

when there was a tie in the General Conference, but it was the first time he had ever been called upon to exercise this function.

Hedding refused to give the vote, being, as he held, precluded by the constitution.*

The great speech of L. L. Hamline in 1844 made him Bishop, and expressed the sentiments of the loyal majority that thereafter constituted the Church. For mastery of the economy of Methodism and for logical conclusiveness that speech has never been surpassed in the great debates of the Church. We make but a single quotation :

That the Conference has executive authority is indisputable. For the Bishop derives his authority from the Conference. Are not answers *first*, ["to preside in our Conferences,"] *second*, ["to form the districts according to his judgment,"] *third*, ["to fix the appointments of the preachers,"] and *eighth*, ["to decide all questions of law, etc.,"] to question third, in section fourth, statutory provisions? Do they not convey authority to the Bishops? If those answers were blotted out by a resolution of this Conference, would the Bishops proceed to execute the duties therein prescribed? This General Conference clothes them with these powers; and can the Conference convey what it does not possess? Can it impart to Bishops what was not inherent in itself up to the time of conveying it? The Conference has these powers. Every thing conveyed as a prerogative to Bishops, presiding elders, preachers, etc., by statutory provision, and not by the constitution or in the Restrictive Rules, was in the General Conference, or it was mockery thus to grant it, and the tenure of these officers is void, and their *seizin* tortuous.†

But a more authoritative utterance than Hamline's speech was the "Reply to the Protest" of the Southern preachers, prepared by order of the Conference by a committee of which Dr. John P. Durbin was chairman. We quote a single paragraph :

Bishop Emory—a man of whom it is no injustice to the living or the dead to say, that he was a chief ornament and light of our episcopacy ; that he brought to the investigation of all ecclesiastical subjects a cool, sagacious, powerful, practical intellect—fully sustains the positions we have assumed in behalf of the powers of the General Conference over the Bishops of our Church. He gives an unqualified assent to the following passages from the notes to the Discipline, prepared by Bishops Asbury and Coke at the request of the General Conference: "They (our Bishops) are entirely dependent on the General Conference ;" "their *power*,

* Clark's Life of Hedding, p. 556.

† General Conference Journal, 1844.

their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference."*

Let us consider the office of stationing the preachers, and inquire whether the Church has recognized this office as inhering exclusively, under the constitution, in the episcopacy. As a matter of fact the Bishops always "fixed the appointments" of the preachers. This they did from the organization of the Church; and their predecessors, Wesley's "assistants," did it before them. But it is to be noted that authority was committed to them by statute for this work, and also that the General Conference has always made rules to regulate the pastoral term, thus putting restrictions on the Bishop's authority in the matter. In 1804 the Bishops were ordered to remove a preacher who had been two years on a charge. In 1864 the pastoral term was lengthened to three years. In 1792 the General Conference ordered the Bishops to change presiding elders after four years. These regulations were a limitation of the authority of the Bishops, and it has never been questioned that the General Conference has authority to make them. But if the Conference is competent to say that the Bishop shall move a preacher after two years, it is also competent to say that he shall not move him inside two years, or four years, or ten years; or that he shall not move him at all. And this was Hamline's view when he declared that if the General Conference "blotted out by a resolution" the "statutory provision" which enjoins the Bishops to fix the appointments, the office of making the appointments would cease from the episcopacy.

Similar reasoning may be applied to the presiding eldership. In 1792 an elder was limited to four years on a district; in 1844 the qualification was added, "after which he shall not be appointed to the same district for six years; in 1872 the Conference authorized the Bishop to appoint presiding elders in Mission Conferences for more than four years.

The power to make these regulations implies a power to control the eldership; for it will not be claimed that this is "clearly excepted by the enumerated restrictions" of the constitution. As a question of fact, the General Conference has always prescribed the duties of presiding elders. This the

* Journal of General Conference, 1844, pp. 235, 236.

Conference has done by passing what Hamline calls "statutory provisions;" but this is a fact which logically carries with it complete control of the office, even to its existence. They may eliminate it from our system if they choose, and secure the needed supervision by an increase of the number of Bishops.

We proceed to another question, and inquire where the power resides for choosing presiding elders. It is claimed, that the history of the enactment of the third Restrictive Rule proves that the framers of the constitution committed the appointment of presiding elders to the Bishops as a prerogative of the episcopacy. Let us carefully consider this question. The argument for the case is as follows: In the General Conference of 1808, on May 16, the Committee of Fourteen presented their report on a constitution for a delegated General Conference. On the same day (we copy from the Journal, p. 83):

Moved by Ezekiel Cooper, and seconded by Joshua Wells, to postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject. Carried.

Moved by Ezekiel Cooper, and seconded by Joshua Wells, the following restriction, namely:

Resolved, That in the fifth section of Discipline, after the question, By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen? the answer shall be: "Ans. 1st. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders."

Two days later, after much debate, Cooper's resolution was rejected by a vote *taken by ballot*: ayes, 52; nays, 73. On the same day John M'Claskey, who favored an elective eldership, moved that the vote on the committee's report be taken by ballot. This was ordered. Then the first resolution of the report was put to vote and it was rejected: ayes, 57; nays, 64.

Cooper wanted an elective eldership, and it is quite probable that his influence caused the defeat of the committee's report. This result caused great dissatisfaction among those who were desiring a delegated Conference.

Asbury and the other chief advocates of the measure* were profoundly afflicted by this result. The New England and most of the Western members, who had been sent by election, as representatives of their distant Conferences, which could not generally attend, retired, and threatened to return home. Consulta-

* Stevens's History, vol. iv, p. 440.

tions ensued, and four days later the question was again resumed by motions of George, Roszel, Soule, Pickering, and Lee. On the 24th the report of the committee was substantially adopted, "*almost unanimously.*"

The words "almost unanimously" are taken from Bangs's History. The report of the Committee did not come before the Conference again, but in a fragmentary way most of its provisions were adopted. The third Restrictive Rule was adopted as presented in the report (Journal, p. 88).

From these facts it is concluded that the Conference, in adopting the third Rule after the defeat of Cooper's resolution, purposed to commit, and did actually commit, the office of choosing presiding elders inalienably and exclusively to the Bishops under the constitution. This is the *pièce de résistance* of those who take that view of the case, and that there is force in the reasoning no candid person will doubt. But the argument is not as conclusive as at first blush it seems to be. There are other facts to be considered. That Cooper, when on May 16 he made his motion to elect elders by the Annual Conferences, understood this to be the force of the third Rule may be conceded, and that others in the Conference agreed with him is quite probable, but it is by no means certain that all who finally, on May 24, voted for that rule, put Cooper's construction on it.

During those eight days great excitement and much controversy had reigned. It is a significant fact that the man who brought forward and moved the Rule on May 24, Jesse Lee, was one of the staunchest supporters of an elective eldership—"the advocate of an elective presiding eldership from first to last, and all the time." It is also a significant fact that Ezekiel Cooper, one of the foremost men of Methodism, from whose action this argument is drawn, was not deterred by the Rule from subsequent efforts to carry an elective eldership, for we find him in the Conference of 1820 in the leadership of the movement. And it is equally significant that the rule was adopted "almost unanimously," as Bangs informs us. Are we bound to conclude that the large minority who favored an elective eldership, including such men as Bangs, Ostrander, Lee, and Hedding, had concluded to surrender their judgments and hopes, and had consented to bury them under the third

Restrictive Rule, or may we believe that they put a different construction on the Rule from the one which lay in the mind of Soule and M'Kendree? They were not only clear-minded but very conscientious men; and if we find them, after the adoption of the Rule, still persisting in their efforts to establish an elective eldership by authority of the delegated Conference, we are bound to come to the conclusion that they did not understand the Rule in that way. And this is precisely what we find to have been the case. They did not relinquish their efforts for an elective eldership, but continued them with unrelenting energy, and came within *three votes* of being successful in the next General Conference.

In the Conference of 1812 Laban Clark, who favored an elective eldership, brought the question up under a resolution. On the second day of the debate Nicholas Snethen "moved the following amendment:"

Provided, always, that the Bishops shall have the power to nominate them; and if the first nomination is not ratified by a majority of the Annual Conference, the Bishop shall proceed to nominate till a choice is made; and in all cases each nomination shall be determined separately, by ballot, without debate.

The amendment was lost: ayes, 39; nays, 43. On the afternoon of the same day the vote was taken on the original motion of Laban Clark; this also was lost: ayes, 42; nays, 45. A change of two votes would have carried the measure. Of the 90 men who composed that Conference of 1812, at least 44 of them had been members of the Conference of 1808, and among those 44 were the following eminent men, all of whom believed that an elective eldership was not forbidden by the third Restrictive Rule: Enoch George, Elijah Hedding, Freeborn Garrettson, Jesse Lee, Nathan Bangs, Asa Shinn, Daniel Ostrander, Laban Clark, and Stephen G. Roszel. Those men had voted on the constitution, and they were as competent to comprehend the force of the Restrictive Rules as were Joshua Soule and William M'Kendree. It is impossible to believe that such men as these would have persisted in an attempt to carry a measure which was unconstitutional, or which was even of doubtful constitutionality. Every one of the thirty-three delegates from the New York, Philadelphia, and Genesee Conferences favored the measure; and to the above-list of eminent men must be added

the names of other distinguished leaders of the early Church who not only believed that an elective eldership was constitutional, but who also labored to secure it to the Church. Among these was that "chief ornament and light of our episcopacy," John Emory, who must be judged competent to handle a constitutional question; also Nicholas Snethen, who according to good authority (M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, Snethen) was the author of the plan of the delegated Conference, and may therefore be supposed to understand it; also Beverly Waugh, Timothy Merritt, George Peck, Samuel Merwin, Joshua Wells, William Capers, George Pickering, Thomas Ware, William Phœbus, and Aaron Hunt. Against the united testimony of those distinguished fathers of our Church no amount of technical reasoning will avail, while dissertations on the significance of the word "plan" in the Rule must be equally inconclusive. All that is really proved by the defeat of Cooper's resolution in the Conference of 1808 is, that the Conference was not prepared to transfer the power of choosing elders from the Bishops to the Annual Conferences; for if we go beyond this, and affirm that all who voted for the third Restrictive Rule purposed to commit, and did deliberately vote to commit, by organic law, the appointment of presiding elders to the Bishops, we reflect upon the honor and slander the memory of many of the brightest names of Methodism. It will not do to say that Joshua Soule drew up the third Rule, and knew his own purpose in framing it. Those other men were his peers, and as original actors in adopting the constitution they were not bound to take their law from a fellow member. And if it be urged that M'Kendree and Soule were on the Committee of Fourteen in 1808, who drafted the Constitution, the reply is, that Cooper, Lee, and Roszel, were also on that committee.

Besides, if it be said that the defeat of Cooper's resolution, on 16th May, compels us to construe the third Restrictive Rule so as to protect the right of the Bishops to choose the elders, it is sufficient to reply that the adverse vote on adopting the constitution, taken immediately after, showed that the Conference would not accept such a construction, and that the friends of an elective eldership were able to defeat its adoption if that were the only interpretation which could be given to the Rule. But during the eight days that intervened between the

adverse vote and the enacting vote they saw that their cause was in no way forestalled by the Rule, and that the question would lie with the Conference as it had always done. This view of the case is demanded by the fact that the friends of an elective eldership led in the adoption of the Rule, and also that they advocated their cause in later Conferences.

Dr. Bangs tells us that

after it was decided that the presiding elders should continue to be appointed as heretofore by the Bishops, on Wednesday, 18th, the consideration of the report was resumed, and after debate the entire report was rejected by a majority of seven votes.*

We have already quoted Bangs to the effect that the report on May 24th was adopted "almost unanimously;" on page 233 he employs the word "unanimity," in describing the vote. These terms compel the belief that but few votes were cast against the resolutions when they were adopted. We are specific and particular on this point, for the nucleus of this whole controversy of constitutionality lies just here, namely, in the construction which the men who voted for the third Rule put upon their own act. The intention of the men who voted for the Rule is the intention of the Rule. And we find, as matter of fact, that a friend of an elective eldership moved its adoption; and in a Conference where 52 out of 125 were pronounced friends of an elective eldership only a few votes were cast against it; and, indeed, there is no proof that any friend of the proposed change voted against it.

But the matter did not end with the defeat of 1812. The friends of an elective eldership resumed their efforts in 1816, and during six days, through eight sittings, the battle was fought. The aggressive leaders in this Conference were S. Merwin, N. Bangs, D. Ostrander, and J. Emory.

Surely these were not men to prosecute an unconstitutional measure. Two of them were members of the Conference of 1808, and all of them were masters in the history and law of the Church. At this Conference Enoch George, a friend of the measure, was chosen Bishop. For the resolutions proposed, see Journal, pages 135, 140. The votes were 42 for, 60 against; and 38 for, 63 against.

The battle which was lost in 1816 was resumed and won in

* History, vol. ii, p. 231.

1820. On the 15th of May, T. Merritt and B. Waugh introduced the following:

Moved, that the answer "by the Bishops" in the fifth section of the Discipline be stricken out, and the following answer substituted: "By the Annual Conferences."

This was the identical resolution which Cooper proposed in 1808. It is plain that Bishop Waugh did not think that the matter had been settled. On the 17th Cooper and Emory submitted the following:

Resolved, That the Bishop, or the president of each Annual Conference, shall ascertain the number of presiding elders wanted, and shall nominate three times the number, out of which nominations the Conference shall, without debate, elect by ballot the presiding elders.

Two days later a committee was appointed, on motion of N. Bangs and Wm. Capers, to prepare a plan "that would conciliate the wishes of the brethren upon the subject." The committee was ordered, as follows: Cooper, Roszel Bangs, J. Wells, Emory, and Capers. The Journal gives the following history of the case (page 221):

Leave was asked by the chairman of the committee, Brother Cooper, appointed yesterday to confer with the Bishops on the subject relating to the election of presiding elders, to report. Leave being given, he made the following:

The committee appointed to confer with the Bishops on a plan to conciliate the wishes of the brethren on the subject of choosing presiding elders, recommend to the Conference the adoption of the following resolutions, to be inserted in their proper place in our Discipline:

Resolved, 1, That whenever, in any Annual Conference, there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder, in consequence of his period of service of four years having expired, or the Bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the Bishop or president of the Conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the Conference shall elect by ballot, without debate, the number wanted: *provided*, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected: *provided*, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference, the Bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.

Resolved, 2, That the presiding elders be, and hereby are, made

the advisory counsel of the Bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

Signed by all the Committee.

The first resolution being read, the question was taken on it and carried—61 to 25. The question was taken on the second resolution as amended, with the consent of the committee. Carried. The question was taken on their final passage, and carried.

The committee was then ordered to incorporate the resolutions in "the section of the Discipline relating to presiding elders." The vote was more than a two thirds majority. These resolutions, called in the history of the controversy "the compromise resolutions," gave great offense to M'Kendree and Soule.

Bishop Roberts seems not to have been opposed to them, and Bishop George defended them. Bishop M'Kendree wrote in his journal: "The senior Bishop (that is, himself) disapproved of the proposed change; the other two were favorable to some change, the extent not pointed out." Before taking the final vote Soule had been elected Bishop, but so great was his opposition to the resolutions that he sent in his resignation, which was with reluctance accepted by the Conference.

Joshua Soule was one of the great men of the Church, and his unselfish devotion and great service had won for him the affection and confidence of his brethren. They had just elected him Bishop. His refusal to accept the office created deep concern. Many fancied they saw the beginning of the dissolution of the Church, for the presiding elder war had been growing fiercer through a period of a score of years. In view of these things an effort was made to reconsider the resolutions on the eldership, but the friends of the measure would not yield. Then a motion was made and carried to suspend their execution for four years. The intense excitement of the occasion is detailed in Bishop Paine's "Life of M'Kendree."

The attitude assumed toward the General Conference by the senior Bishop, and also by the Bishop-elect, is a most extraordinary one, and prefigured the attitude of Bishops Andrew and Soule and the Southern preachers in the rebellion of 1844. The position of M'Kendree in his "Address to the Annual

Conferences,"* that he "could not submit or give up the powers he possessed as General Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the disposal of your representatives" (the General Conference), is the attitude of Bishop Andrew in 1844.

The Bishop boldly declared that he would not execute the resolutions on the eldership, and also that he was not bound by any acts of the General Conference which he judged unconstitutional. In such a case he would appeal to the Annual Conferences, which, he said, "were the proper judges of constitutional questions."

The Bishop-elect took the same attitude of insubordination to the Conference. He wrote to the Bishops who were about to consecrate him, "I solemnly declare that I cannot act as Superintendent under the rules this day made and established." And yet he consented to be consecrated, and the Bishops were agreed to perform the service, two of them hoping that after his ordination he would obey the laws of the Church, but M'Kendree hoping that he "would resist," and aid him in opposing the execution of the resolutions.

When these things were brought out in the Conference, so great was the opposition to the position taken by the Bishop-elect that he presented his resignation.

But the resolutions had been suspended for four years. Afterward Bishop M'Kendree prepared a formidable Address to the Annual Conferences,† in which he argued that the suspended resolutions were unconstitutional, and, instead of taking the rest from labor which the Conference had granted him, he appeared at the Annual Conferences and defended the cause of his Address. The issue was drawn; the Church must submit or impeach the venerable Bishop. And yet his course in thus attempting to control the legislation of the Church and resist the General Conference finds no warrant in the Discipline. It belongs to an epoch of administration that ended with the secession in 1844. But the great influence of the Bishop, whose conscientious devotion to the Church all admired, finally prevailed, and seven of the twelve Annual Conferences declared the resolutions unconstitutional. The other five, being the leading Conferences of the Church, laid the Bishop's Address on the table, and refused to consider it.

* *Life*, vol. i, p. 456.

† *Ibid.*, p. 444.

This action of M'Kendree in appealing from the General Conference to the Annual Conferences is in striking contrast to the administration of the Bishops some years later on the slavery question. Bishop Hedding, in the New England and New Hampshire Conferences in 1836, refused to put motions which seemed to conflict with the Pastoral Address of the General Conference of the same year. In explaining his course Bishop Hedding said: "I have uniformly acknowledged my responsibility to the General Conference, *whose agent I am.*" * "We (the Bishops) have always practiced setting aside such motions or resolutions (in Annual Conferences) as we supposed unconstitutional." † In the New Hampshire Conference, in 1838, Bishop Morris refused to put a motion because in his judgment "it approved what the General Conference had condemned." That the general judgment and administration of the Church in this matter has been with Hedding and against M'Kendree there can be no question.

In the Conference of 1824 the suspended resolutions were permitted to remain still suspended, and were passed on as "unfinished business" to the Conference of 1828. A resolution in the Conference of 1824, that the resolutions "are not of authority" because "a majority of the Annual Conferences have judged them unconstitutional," was passed to its third reading, but as it failed to secure a third vote (which was a regulation of that Conference) it went over to the next General Conference. In 1828 a motion to declare the resolutions unconstitutional was set aside by the following "substitute offered by William Winans and William Capers: "

Resolved, That the resolutions commonly called the Suspended Resolutions, rendering the presiding elders elective, and which were referred to this Conference by the last General Conference as unfinished business, and reported to us at this Conference, be, and the same are hereby, rescinded and made void.

This ended the war. It is to be noted that no General Conference ever declared an elective presiding eldership unconstitutional, while the Conference of 1820 proclaimed the opposite doctrine by more than a two thirds majority, and all the most eminent leaders of the early Church, and authorities in Methodist law, with the exceptions of M'Kendree

* Life of Hedding, p. 511.

† *Ibid.*, p. 498.

and Soule, were on the popular side in this controversy. That some of those leaders, from considerations of expediency, subsequently changed their minds as to the wisdom of an elective eldership has not the slightest significance or bearing on the question here examined. We are not arguing a question of expediency, but a question of law.

It is well worth observing that in all these constitutional wars the southern portion of the Church were the "high-church" party, and stanch defenders of episcopal prerogative. This fact was conspicuous in the Conference of 1844, where those views were elaborated and afterwards crystallized in the "Protest" of the Southern delegates.

The answer of the Church to these pretensions was the speech of Hamline and the "Reply to the Protest," from which we have already made quotations. So in the eldership controversy Bishops M'Kendree and Soule, backed by the South, were the champions of high prerogative, while the strength of the reform movement was chiefly in the North. The Southern interpretation of the Church's constitution is succinctly stated by Bishop Paine, of the Church South, in his *Life of M'Kendree* (p. 416):

Originally the itinerant preachers exercised unrestrained powers; but they saw proper in their wisdom to constitute a delegated General Conference, invested with such powers as the preachers collectively deemed necessary to perform the duties assigned it. *Their powers were expressed. What is not expressed is consequently withheld.*

But a view diametrically opposite to this has ruled in the Church North, and is correctly given by Bishop Harris, in his work on "The Powers of the General Conference" (p. 22):

There is not here (in the grant of powers) a delegation of enumerated powers accompanied by a general reservation, as in the Federal Government, but a delegation of general and sweeping powers under enumerated and well-defined restrictions.

[Further views on the general subject will be presented in another paper.]

ART. III.—CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

Our endeavor, in this paper, is to emphasize the distinction between Christian and secular education, to exhibit the failure to recognize adequately this distinction, and to suggest some measures for improvement. We use the word education solely in its technical sense, referring to the training of the schools. A conflict which has, probably, only begun in this country, is over the question of Christian and secular schools. The struggle between Christianity and secularism presents no phase more important than this. Additional interest comes from the fact that Christian people are not precisely a unit with regard to the issue.

Between the two styles of training in question there is large superficial resemblance—and misleading resemblance. Both aim at culture in certain special directions. These directions are largely the same. The same studies, in the main, are pursued at Ithaca or Ann Arbor as at Middletown or Princeton. This fact is liable to mislead, and doubtless does mislead, many in reaching their practical conclusions. But these external similarities are not of chief interest. Other points we may find, upon examination, exhibiting the strongest and most vital contrasts.

The distinction is fundamental. It relates, first of all, to the ultimate end of education. What is education for? That is a most pertinent and essential question certainly, and one that ought not to be lost sight of at any point in educational processes. To this question Christianity gives a definite answer; an answer not formal, nevertheless weighty and exact. Secularism gives a variety of conflicting answers. The confusion which reigns over the human mind when it separates itself from God appears in the chaos of secular educational theories. For the purpose of easy inspection we may name and arrange these theories as follows: 1. The Popular, "the bread and butter," theory. 2. The theory of Secular Statesmanship. 3. That of Intellectualism. 4. That of Philosophic Utilitarianism. The first is the crude theory floating in the popular mind: education is to help in getting a living; to make living easy, comfortable, and possibly luxurious. The second theory holds

that education is for the public good. It is not a mere private advantage, but a public necessity. The third rings the changes upon the word "culture." Knowledge and intellectual development form the supreme end. The fourth theory, that of Philosophic Utilitarianism, is the best that secular thought has ever given. Herbert Spencer stands as its representative. He says, "How to live? that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense, . . . how to live completely. And this being the great thing needful for us to learn, is by consequence the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge." This general statement is exceedingly beautiful. We may be inclined to pronounce it faultless. But it is general. Under this beautiful mask is agnosticism of the most unqualified type. Mr. Spencer tells us later what "complete living" is, as he regards it. He enters formally and methodically into the work. He gives a detailed list of "the leading activities which constitute human life." But nowhere do we find the slightest hint that man has a religious nature. Not even among those "activities" which he regards as least in importance, "those making up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of tastes and feelings," does he find any place for an act of worship, or for any endeavor to satisfy the great "hunger and thirst" of the human heart. His "complete living" appears, in the light of all history, exceedingly incomplete. His theory as to the purpose of education, then, foots up in this: to prepare us for "complete living" with the supreme fact of life left out.

These theories are, of course, in some measure correct. But they have the vicious quality of half-truths, or less than half truths. And that makes their consideration somewhat difficult, especially when we undertake to compare them with the Christian theory. One is almost compelled to indulge in truisms or to run the risk of seeming to deny what every body should be ready to admit.

"A lie that is all a lie
May be met and fought with outright;
But a lie that is half a lie
Is a harder matter to fight."

The Christian theory of education is necessarily implied in the Christian conception of human life. We may accept Mr.

Spencer's statement, that education is to prepare us for "complete living;" but we must learn from Christ what "complete living" is. "Man shall not live by bread alone." He must have bread, but he needs even more the "word which proceedeth from the mouth of God." He has intellect and taste, but also conscience. His highest attainment is goodness. He is a citizen of an earthly state, but also a subject of the kingdom of God. His "activities" upon the earth are largely preliminary and preparatory. He is to live forever in the world to come.

Education should therefore be in the largest sense liberal. It should make the man self-supporting, acquainting him with practical measures for comfortable and beautiful living. It should prepare him for citizenship. It should make him, it may be, a man of letters, or a scientist, or an artist. But it should go further. It should strengthen and broaden his faith in God. It should sharpen his appreciation for spiritual realities. It should furnish him with a just conception of human life; its needs, possibilities, and obligations. It should deepen in his mind the distinction between right and wrong. It should strengthen his conviction of those truths which surround right with its most impressive sanctions.

Any system of general education that does not accomplish this, Christianity must pronounce a failure. Any system that puts obstacles in the way of this, is a perversion. The Christian conception of life is so unlike the secular, so far above and beyond it, that it justly claims recognition in every measure that has to do with the shaping of life; and, therefore, recognition as far as possible at every step in educational processes.

But how far is education actually Christian? To what extent do the schools recognize "complete living" as the end they should help to serve? To go no further than our own country, we have an immense and most interesting field for investigation. We have systems of public instruction. We have schools and academies in large numbers, supported by private enterprise, or by the various religious denominations. We have, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1881, 362 colleges and universities, regularly chartered and authorized to confer degrees. (And it might be added, that their power to confer degrees is operated pretty effectively.) We have on an average throughout the United States one

college or university to every piece of territory one hundred miles square. Many of these institutions, it is true, have names ridiculously out of proportion with their real character. And yet they are doing a valuable work, and are destined to increase in influence. At all events, the educational enterprises of our country deserve the most careful study, and especially from those who have the progress of Christianity at heart.

Such a study will reveal, no doubt, in all, or nearly all, these institutions the existence of features of noteworthy excellence. In many instances, however, there will be discovered a conspicuous lack of harmony between the end proposed and the means employed; a lack of coherent, well-applied educational theory. And still further, and this is for us now the main point, there must appear a failure quite general to recognize properly the place that belongs to distinctively Christian teaching. For proof and illustration we may look, first, to our public schools. They have undeniable merits. They have, at least, the virtue of a good intention, the elevation, in some sense, of the multitudes. They have been sources of good to millions of our population. Still, it may be fairly questioned whether their defects are not nearly as great as their merits. The root-evil is a lack of correct, well-applied educational theory. The theory that underlies them is narrow and incomplete; and even this is poorly applied. Are our public schools to be regarded as means employed by the State for its own protection? Is the end "to prepare youth for citizenship?" That theory is commendable as far as it goes. Here is the all-sufficient warrant for public education, perhaps its only warrant. But if that is the end sought, then the means are certainly inadequate to the end; they often lose sight of the end. Ignorance is not the only enemy of the State, nor the greatest. And in styles of ignorance as well as of knowledge there is room for choice. One of the first requisites of citizenship is self-support. This being the case, it is plain that industrial training, especially in our large cities, should receive public attention. It would receive attention if public instruction paid half the heed to the evils of loafism that it pays to those of illiteracy. With respect to a certain class of embryo citizens the State confronts two alternatives: either to teach

them some sort of productive labor in schools or to teach them in prison. Our public schools are defective, also, with respect to moral training; and strangely, illogically defective with respect to certain features of morality most obviously essential to safe citizenship. For example, public instruction should raise a barrier against drunkenness. Compulsory temperance-education laws have been enacted in three of the States, namely, Vermont, Michigan, and New Hampshire. It may safely be assumed that other States need them. The difficulty will be to make other States see the need. There is not the slightest occasion, in teaching this item of morality, for raising the bugaboo of sectarianism. But for this morsel of improvement temperance advocates are obliged to plead, and probably will be obliged to plead for time to come. There are also certain items of political morality that would seem most proper to be put into the minds of American youths, such as the sacredness of official trust and of the ballot. If the end of public instruction is "to prepare for citizenship," the impression should be made as early and as deeply as possible that to give or to take bribes is as detestable as theft or arson. The only explanation that can be given for such omissions is, that such instruction comes under the head of morals, and from moral instruction our public school systems have in the main held themselves aloof. And the reason of this? Is it presumed that other agencies will supply the lack? We will look to the home. But from what kind of homes do many of our embryo citizens come? Shall we depend upon the Sunday-school and the Church? With many the Church and Sunday-school have no opportunity whatever. It is said to be impracticable to teach morality in the public schools because of its relation to religion. But here is the question. It may be delicate and difficult and yet practicable. We submit the question, Would it be impracticable to prepare and use a text-book especially adapted to this purpose? Quite likely such a work would be incomplete. No doubt it would be impossible to please all sects and parties. Still, possibly a work might be arranged that would be acceptable and useful to the great body of the people.

But this is "not American;" not "in accordance with the genius of American institutions." That is often said with an

air that implies finality. But that settles nothing. The words "American" and "right" are not synonyms. In the "Contemporary Review" for November, 1882, an article appeared from Jules Simon, upon "Public Education in France." He says:

But now we must secularize; it is the will of a few deputies who are declaiming in Paris against religious faith. Quick! Drive away the monks, call in the new master! And liberty of conscience, what about that? They tell us, when we are all reduced, by the absence of any free schools at all, to send our children to the communal schools, we need not be alarmed, for they have with the most minute and zealous care eliminated all that could wound the most delicate conscience. The child will see there neither priest nor rabbi, neither Bible nor crucifix. He will not be allowed to utter a prayer nor to make the sign of the cross. From his carefully chosen school-books religious dogma and legend will be alike excluded. In the old time we used to have in the schools those little books of sacred history which opened with the words, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." We have done away with these little books now. The children will hear no more talk of the creation or God, or even of a beginning. In one word, the school they will have to learn in will be strictly neutral. This is what they tell us by way of consolation. *They forget that it is not God we are afraid of, it is Nihilism.*

On this side of the Atlantic we have need to take the hint. It would be well if we were less afraid of God, less afraid of Romanism, and more afraid of Nihilism. We have been so much afraid of being too religious, so much afraid that Rome will do something terrible, that we have largely lost sight of the danger of educating a generation without faith and respect for righteousness.

Leaving now our public schools, we find some things especially worthy of note in our institutions for higher education upon a purely secular basis. In the "North American Review" of June, 1883, in an article upon "Present Aspects of College Training," President Gilman speaks of such institutions as "a reaction against innumerable denominational colleges," and says: "They are usually governed by good men, so that a student in any one of them perceives very little difference, if any, in the ethical and religious influences by which he is surrounded from those which encompass his friend in a denominational college." He says this is "usually" the case.

This may be true, but if so, it implies no very high compliment to our denominational colleges.

But it may not be difficult to find exceptions. Is there not more than one institution the managers and friends of which boast its freedom from all "tradition," from "sectarianism," from religion? "There are unhappy times in the world's history," says Carlyle, "when he that is least educated will chiefly have it to say, he is least perverted." Says St. James, "This wisdom cometh not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish."

The attempt to manage colleges upon a purely secular basis is perilous while it exists, but in the end will be quite likely to defeat itself. It is a fact of no small significance that college preaching has recently been established at Cornell. Plainly it was felt that undiluted secularism could not be borne, and therefore various eminent clergymen are invited in, from time to time, to help them out of their dilemma. It is not at all surprising that the one-sided character of the education furnished by secular colleges has aroused anxious inquiry on the part of thinking men. President Gilman, while giving the commendation above quoted to the ethical and religious atmosphere which he says usually pervades these institutions, still recognizes a great need which, from some source, must be supplied. He says most impressively, "Never was there a time when it was more important to uphold the essentials of religion, and to encourage the formation of right moral habits, for the temptation to forget the things which are unseen is very strong."

This is very true, and the need of surrounding college life with religious influences, and of making part of the instruction distinctively religious, is correspondingly great. Let us see what is proposed to meet this great necessity. Says the same writer:

Doubtless churches in the neighborhood of colleges will be more and more called upon, each in its own way, to undertake the religious guidance of such young men as may be brought within their influence, while college faculties will be held responsible by the public for the influence they exert upon the moral lives of those whose intellectual training they have undertaken to direct. Already, enlightened men in different parts of the country have independently come to the conclusion that in the

neighborhood of a State university, or any other non-sectarian institution, halls of residence may be founded by religious bodies, and instruction may there be given in positive religious doctrines to those who resort to the central establishment for secular learning. The Bishop of Michigan, Dr. Harris, having seen the vigor and prospects of the great foundation at Ann Arbor, has wisely directed his zeal to the building up of a collegiate hall, which shall not be in rivalry with the State University, but in cordial though informal co-operation with it, supplementing its instructions by positive religious teachings among those who are admitted to the privileges of the church home. Years ago, a similar project for surrounding the University of California with halls of residence to be provided by different churches was very nearly perfected. By some such method the new unsectarian colleges may be well supplied with positive religious instruction, while the non-denominational character of the foundation remains unimpaired.

This plan for halls of residence is remarkable for several things. And first, because it recognizes the great defect of secular colleges in their failure to provide "positive religious instruction." Second, because it is only a plan. It is not altogether new. "Years ago," it is said, in California such a "project was nearly brought to perfection." But so far as known the first brick is not laid for such a hall of residence anywhere upon the earth. Besides, it is a plan that quite likely never will be realized. And if it were put into operation, the beneficial results would be very meager. What likelihood, we may ask, is there that the Churches, with their present educational enterprises in hand, will abandon them, or divide their support between them and such a new enterprise? And how large an opportunity would this plan, if realized, actually provide for religious instruction? With a full college curriculum purely secular taxing their energies and time, students would be but poor subjects for "positive religious instruction" in halls of residence. Nothing would be possible but certain devotional exercises and sundry pious exhortations. And lastly, such an arrangement would scarcely tend to exalt, but rather to degrade, religious knowledge. Knowledge confessedly of the highest importance would be thrust into the background, and have only such opportunity as might be left after all other kinds had received attention.

Our reason for dwelling upon this to such an extent, is to show how great the defect of purely secular education is, and

how impracticable it must be to supply the defect by external devices.

We now turn our attention to the institutions for higher education under Christian control. We omit discussion of the academies and preparatory schools under the care of the Church, for the reason that the larger part of what will be said concerning the colleges will obviously apply to the schools of lower grade. It should be said, however, that the amount of required religious study is often relatively less in the academies than in the colleges. And aside from the chapel exercises, and a few things of like sort, it might be difficult in some instances to draw the distinction between these schools and others purely and professedly secular. Upward of seventy-five per cent. of the colleges in this country are nominally Christian. To be more exact, 271 of the 362 colleges and universities are directly under the control of the religious denominations.

It is a pleasure to observe here the contrasts to secularism. These institutions are Christian in being the fruits of Christian benevolence. Within the last ten years, in this country, \$61,475,000 have been given by private individuals for education. Most of this has been given by Christian men and from Christian motives. These colleges are Christian, also, in the character of the men to whom, in other respects, they owe their origin. They are the outgrowth of Christian thought and toil as well as of benevolence. How pure, how powerful, are the memories that gather around some of them! They are Christian, also, because of the earnest faith and lives of most of the instructors. With comparatively rare exceptions the professors are men of true faith and piety. They are Christian, also, in the general tinge of the instruction. Also in the fact that the college life is marked by certain religious observances, implying and nourishing the Christian faith. And lastly, in the fact that a certain measure of formal instruction is given upon subjects distinctively moral and Christian.

There is certainly a great advantage in all this; an advantage that should be preserved against the general drift toward secularity. But does not this very enumeration of Christian characteristics suggest that something more is to be desired and sought? We recur to our ideal. We ask again, "What is education for?" Again we have the answer, "To prepare us

for complete living." And again we remember what Christ tells us complete living is. Once more we are reminded that man's highest attainment is goodness, and among all kinds of knowledge, that has the highest value which ministers most directly to the spiritual part of life. Only when the Christian conception of human life is clearly and strongly before us are we prepared to ask, "Are our Christian colleges sufficiently Christian?" Is the broad distinction between Christian and secular education sufficiently recognized in the actual character and work of these institutions?

To be more specific we may ask, By what rule of right or propriety should an instructor ever be tolerated in a Christian college whose attitude is not that of reverent acceptance of the Gospel—whose faith in the great verities of Christianity is not beyond all question? One of the most remarkable utterances of the Boston Monday Lectureship was a warning sounded in the ear of college students. With mighty eloquence students were bidden to be on their guard against the influence of skeptical or unbelieving college professors. The warning was not without occasion. It is true, that by far the larger number of professors in Christian colleges are men of faith as well as of learning. But why should there ever be an exception? It is difficult to see why our professorships, in all departments, should not be as sacredly guarded against unbelief as our pulpits.

Another inquiry is suggested. Is not one of the chief requisites of college education at the present time a more thorough and systematic training in the science of Christianity? The phrase may sound strangely. But we believe it is fitting. Christianity is a proper object for scientific study. It is itself a phenomenon at least as interesting as the civilization of ancient Greece. It has performed a more important part in shaping the destinies of the world than the empire of Rome. It is at least as closely allied to human development and happiness as astronomy or geology. Christianity has a literature to which students in Christian colleges should be required to give some measure of study. Scholarship in a Christian land is shamefully deficient if it does not embrace a knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, a knowledge such as the Sunday-school and even the pulpit cannot impart. Scholarship must surely

attend to the great specimens of Greek, Latin, and English literature. There should be no occasion to ask whether the Bible should not also be studied in our colleges. The inspection of our college catalogues with reference to the amount of Bible study necessary to graduation would furnish much material for reflection. The ignorance often exhibited by college graduates concerning the Bible would be ludicrous, if it were not lamentable.

Christianity has also a history—its record of achievements. It has made its definite impress upon the opinions, the convictions, the customs of civilized society. The knowledge of what Christianity has done for civilization, as well as the knowledge of its phenomenal extension, should be possessed in some considerable measure by every student before he receives his diploma.

Christianity has also its credentials. It holds a commanding attitude and position with respect to doubts and objections. If it be true, as is sometimes asserted, that the struggle with doubt which so many experience often begins in college days, it is of the largest importance that the college should give the student all possible help in the struggle.

Christianity has, moreover, its life-rules and principles—its ethics. It has also its facts of psychological significance—its inner experiences. In these various directions we have a vast range of facts to be critically weighed and scientifically treated. It is true that in most of our colleges something of this kind is done. But it is only a fraction of what is really needed.

Perhaps it is assumed that other agencies may be relied upon for conducting this part of education. But what warrant is there for such an assumption? Why might not the colleges with equal propriety leave to some outside agency instruction in political economy or history? Quite likely the Sunday-school and the pulpit are expected to be efficient in this particular direction. But with the very limited opportunity, and the exceedingly lax method of most Sunday-school work, few results beyond a popular, superficial, nevertheless useful, knowledge may be expected; and even this expectation is doomed sometimes to disappointment.

The pulpit has also, on the whole, a popular as well as varied work. It may be that more of system, more of continuity,

more of painstaking instruction, would be useful in pulpit ministrations. But it is not to be forgotten that the preacher is called upon to minister to a great diversity of minds and hearts on every public occasion; and these occasions should be in a large degree for worship and spiritual culture. The precise style and extent of teaching that is needed by young men seeking Christian scholarship is not within the function of the ministry. Providentially, the Church has not only her pulpits but her colleges; and the methodical and comprehensive treatment of religious themes required by leading minds, not possible through the more popular agencies of the Church, may be furnished through the institutions for higher education.

Of course, it is understood that the highest Christian knowledge is not to be gained from the study of books or the professor's instruction. The strongest apprehension of Christian realities can be reached only by Christian living. But it is also true that Christian learning may be a help to Christian living, just as the lack of it may be a hinderance.

It should also be understood that we do not advocate the conversion of our colleges into theological seminaries. If it were not for what Professor Bowne calls the "great power of the misunderstanding," this statement would be unnecessary. We distinctly hold that the training required by a Christian minister is one thing, and that required by a Christian scholar is another. We also hold that the training furnished by our colleges at present is not of such a sort as to furnish one of the prime essentials of Christian scholarship; that in the scheme of general instruction Christianity does not find the place which properly belongs to it.

We would add, therefore, with becoming modesty, but also with becoming emphasis, that no Christian college is thoroughly equipped that does not contain a professorship well endowed and ably manned for instruction in the science of Christianity. Such instruction should have the dignity and advantage of a distinct department. Perhaps in no way could funds be more worthily bestowed than for the founding of such professorships.

We need also a large outpouring of Christian offerings to make our educational institutions as powerful and complete and attractive as possible. Christian education should be in every sense the best. And this can be reached only by a larger

benevolence than the Church has as yet practiced, or even conceived. We need endowments for our academies as well as for our colleges. We need great universities, not merely in name but in reality, sheltering special technical schools, all under the care of the Church, to promote a learning at once thorough, symmetrical, and Christian.

The last need to be mentioned, perhaps not the last in importance, is the common need of Christendom—a deepening of spiritual life. Our institutions of learning should be, in the largest degree possible, living centers of religious power.

By no single measure, but by several—by larger attention to distinctively Christian subjects, by larger benevolence that broader schemes may be realized, by deeper piety that all may be crowned with the blessing of God—our Christian colleges may be brought to such a condition as to illustrate better than they do at present the distinction between Christian and secular education.

Whoever has found young men fresh from college, with minds awake upon a large variety of secular themes, but dull and empty and dubious with respect to subjects most vital, and has seen their ignorance rapidly ripening into unbelief; whoever has looked over society and seen the need, not merely of a learned ministry and an earnest evangelism, but of men of broad and splendid culture in heartiest sympathy with all the legitimate enterprises of the Church; and whoever has reflected upon the part that scholars hold, or should hold, in the affairs of the Church, the nation, and the world, must feel that few subjects are more worthy of attention than the one with which we have attempted to deal.

ART. IV.—CHRIST PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

Ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἀπ᾽ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα τῷ αὐτῷ προσάγῃ τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὅλγοι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, δεισώθησαν δι' ὕδατος. 1 Peter iii, 18-20.

Because also Christ once for sins suffered, the just for the unjust, that us he might bring to God; being put to death as to the flesh (fleshwise), but made alive as to the spirit (spiritwise); in which also to the in prison spirits going, he preached (proclaimed) the disobedient at one time, when the forbearance of God waited, in the days of Noah, the ark being a preparing, through (by means of) which a few, that is, eight, were saved, by (through the agency of) water.—*Literal Rendering.*

"Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, who aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water."—*Revised Version.*

SCARCELY any other passage in the New Testament presents so many and so great difficulties as that given above. It is not chiefly that it is *obscure*, so that no sense can be made of it (as are some other passages), for that is not the case; but while it plainly declares very much, it also leaves so much undetermined that it is difficult to affirm positively what is its real meaning. It is introduced somewhat parenthetically into the general course of the thought of the context. If we read directly on to the middle of the eighteenth verse, closing with the statement of Christ's death, "the righteous for the unrighteous," we find the apostle exhorting his brethren to the patient endurance of afflictions and persecutions after the example of Christ; and if then we leap forward to the twenty-second verse, the course of the thought will seem to be continuous and consecutive. That which occurs between these two points seems to be introduced as make-weights and illustrations, designed to enforce the foregoing exhortations to patient endurance. It thus has the appearance of an episode—a turning away from the direct line of thought to pursue a side line—setting forth and explaining some things somehow connected with those exemplary sufferings, or, perhaps, simply their historical

sequents, and not immediately bearing upon the matter of the preceding exhortations. Viewed in this aspect, it becomes separated in its sense from the leading thought of the discourse, and so standing by itself to be interpreted according to the natural import of the language; and if so considered, the passage, in its direct grammatical construction, presents no special difficulties.

The latter part of verse eighteen declares that Christ, having suffered physical death (*σαρκί*, fleshwise), was made (or found) alive (*πνεύματι*, spiritwise), and in that state (*ἐν ᾧ*) "he went and preached (proclaimed) to the spirits in prison." The record of these things appears to be made in the order of historical sequence. He died as to the flesh, in which state he had been living, and was alive in another state, that is, as to the spirit, or in a *pneumatical*, as contradistinction from a *physical*, state; and then he is spoken of as, in that state, "going,"—*πορευθείς*, signifying a change of place, a *proceeding*—apparently for the purpose of performing the act next designated, "preached," (*ἐκήρυξεν*). "to the spirits in prison"—*τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν*. Thus far the only question requiring to be settled is, "Who were these spirits in prison?" But out of that arises the whole difficulty of the case.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to examine more closely the language of the latter part of the eighteenth verse and the nineteenth verse. The interpretation of *σαρκί* (in the flesh) and *πνεύματι* (in the spirit), given by Alford, appears altogether satisfactory, and indeed felicitous. "It was thus, in this region, under these conditions, that the death on the cross was inflicted. His flesh, which was *living* flesh before, became *dead* flesh; Christ Jesus, the entire complex Person, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, was put to death, *σαρκί* (fleshwise), but made alive again (*ζωοποιηθείς*, quickened, raised to life), *πνεύματι* (spirit-wise). . . . *Quoad carnem* (as in respect to the flesh), our Lord was put to death; *quoad spiritum* (as to the [his] spirit), he was brought to life; not that the flesh *died*, and the spirit was *made alive*, but that *quoad* (as to) the flesh the Lord died, and *quoad* (as to) the spirit (his rational soul, his essential self) he was made alive (did not die). He, the God-man Christ Jesus (body and soul), ceased to live a fleshly, mortal (physiological and psychical) life, and began to live a

spiritual resurrection life. His own (human) spirit never died, as the next verse shows us." Here, too, we may introduce the language of Luther, as especially pertinent to the point in hand: "Christ by his sufferings was taken from the life which is flesh and blood, . . . and he is now placed in another life, and made alive according to the spirit (*πνεύματι*), has passed into a spiritual and supernatural life, which includes in itself the whole life which Christ now has, . . . so that he has no longer a *fleshly* but a *spiritual* body."

In what is here given it will be seen that we depart from the rendering of our "Authorized Version," but agree with the Revised Version, in not construing *πνεύματι* (verse eighteen) "by the spirit," of the Holy Ghost, which is clearly contrary to the proper grammatical sense of the word in this place. That construction is also both exegetically and theologically objectionable, for only the *mode* of the designated quickening is meant to be indicated, without any reference to the agent by whom the work was effected. Nor was that quickening the same with our Lord's resurrection from the dead, which was historically an after-affair.

This construction also gives a better significance to the first words of the next (the nineteenth) verse, *ἐν ᾧ*, rendered *by which* in the Authorized Version, but in the Revised Version *in which*—that is, in which form or condition of being. Nothing is here said about the agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of quickening, predicated subjectively of our Lord after his death on the cross. It is simply indicated that after the crucifixion the human soul, still living, and as an inseparable part of the God-man, in its disembodied state "went and preached," of which transaction more will be said in the sequel.

The nineteenth verse ascribes to our Lord two distinct but closely related actions, *going* and *preaching*. The former of these is the equivalent to the well-known language of the *Apostles' Creed*, "He descended *into hades*." The human soul of Christ, which departed from the body at the awful moment when "he dismissed his spirit," was at once, and by that act, brought into other conditions and environments, the passage into which sufficiently answers to the sense of the word "going" (*πορευθεῖς*), though change of *place* as well as of *condi-*

tion is not excluded, nor, indeed, improbable. The belief in the continued existence of souls after death in the disembodied state, is so nearly universally accepted by Christians that we need not stop to either assert or defend it; and the scarcely less commonly accepted opinion, that the full awards of the future state are not given immediately after death, renders necessary some idea or theory of an intermediate state; and into that state—the *hades* of the New Testament, whatever that may be—the spirit of the man Christ Jesus, he having been put to death in the flesh, must have entered; and there it was that “he preached to the spirits in prison:” and these, it would seem, were also disembodied spirits—human souls—of those who, in past ages, had died as to the flesh, and were then abiding in *hades*, “the intermediate state.”

These “spirits” are spoken of as “in prison”—*ἐν φυλακῇ*, in custody—not necessarily in a place or condition of suffering, either temporal or eternal, punitive or purgatorial, but rather in a state of temporary waiting. Of this St. Peter spoke in his memorable discourse on the day of Pentecost as the place in which Christ had been, and out of which he came at his resurrection; a view of which state is also given in the parable of the rich man and the beggar. In itself, therefore, the phrase “in prison,” *ἐν φυλακῇ*, is here simply equivalent to the “in *hades*” (*ἐν τῷ ᾠδῇ*, Luke xvi, 23), of which the resting-place of Abraham and Lazarus was a department, a portion of the great whole; the “paradise” into which Christ and the penitent thief entered on the day of the crucifixion.

His work among these “spirits in prison” is indicated by the word “preached,” *ἐκήρυξεν*, a word which in classical Greek signifies simply proclaiming publicly, without respect to the nature of the thing set forth. In the New Testament, however, it is more commonly used in reference to the preaching of the Gospel, and therefore it has been claimed that the obvious sense of the language here used is, that our Lord, then and there, preached the Gospel with its gracious offers of salvation to “the spirits in prison,” showing them what he had accomplished for them, and its purposed results—that his Messianic commission reached down to them, and that its purpose would be realized in their glorification with him; of which his resurrection, then about to be effectuated in their sight, was to

be at once the victorious achievement and the pledge of its consummation.

If we could stop at this point, there would be no special difficulty in the case. Accepting the doctrine of the ancient Church, which seems to be both scriptural and rational, that while the material body of the God-man was in the sepulcher his human soul was in *hades*, the abode of disembodied spirits, we must also suppose that he was in that particular portion of "the under world" in which the *righteous* dead repose, the "paradise" of which he spake to the penitent thief. And although he came thither in the character of a *captive*, as had all that had gone before him, his captivity was only apparent, because it was voluntary, and his accepting it was an important part of his work as the Redeemer of men. Coming thus to the faithful of the past ages who had lived and died without the sight of their Redeemer, or the knowledge of the way of their deliverance, he proclaimed to them *himself* as their Redeemer, and told them what he had done for them in this world, and what he was about to do further in their behalf. This was, indeed, and eminently, *preaching the Gospel* "to the spirits in prison." And his subsequent going forth from them, which was essentially his *resurrection*, of which the revivification of his body was only a successional incident—important, indeed, but not "*the resurrection*" itself, which was accomplished *in hades*—gave to them the assurance of their own resurrection, their deliverance from the power of death, and from their imprisonment in "the under world." In his *rising* they saw their great enemy conquered; saw humanity, as embodied and represented in the person of the Conqueror, pass triumphantly outward and upward, leaving with them the assured promise that he would come again and receive them to himself, as he had before said, "that where I am there ye may be also." This rendering of the text, therefore, if allowable, would not only meet all the demands of an intelligent exegesis, and harmonize its teachings with the traditional faith of the Church, but also place in a clear and strong light a highly interesting point in Christian eschatology; but the words of the sacred text next following precipitate us into new, and indeed formidable, difficulties.

That which comes next is, as a form of words, entirely plain.

Indeed, the clearness and directness of the passage, as to its grammatical import, only enhances the difficulties of the case; for the apostle seems to say *that our Lord*, after his death on the cross, in his disembodied state proceeded to the place where were held "in prison" those who had heard Noah preach, and who, having rejected his exhortations and warnings, were *ἀπειθεῖς*, *unpersuaded, unbelieving*; and to them, there and then, he "preached." What was the *substance* of that preaching is not indicated, except as it may seem to be determined by the language used. It has been seen that the word *ἐκήρυξεν*, properly translated "preached," according to the New Testament *usus loquendi* has a good rather than a bad or even an indifferent meaning—the bringing *good tidings* rather than denouncing a *curse*. Some, for dogmatic reasons, insist strongly on this sense of the word as here used as alone allowable, while others, who hesitate in respect to the conclusions that are sought to be thus established, claim for it a wider meaning, according to its classical use: and in this case, perhaps, a sense quite the opposite of "glad tidings." It is obviously true that the Gospel of Christ, as proclaimed among men, is not—was not intended to be—invariably a message of joy. Isaiah, in a prophecy which Christ appropriated to himself and his work, describes the mission of the Messiah as not only "to preach the acceptable year of the Lord," but also, and with equal emphasis, "*the day of vengeance of our God.*" In the same spirit Malachi speaks of the rising of "the Sun of righteousness" "with healing in his wings;" and yet he shows that this revelation of God's favor to his people will be accompanied with the *trampling down* of his enemies. This double aspect of the Gospel in its initial proclamation, and still more so in its last results, may be detected all through the course of the divine revelation, and most clearly of all in the final book of the New Testament. The claim, therefore, that is made, that our Lord's preaching to the disobedient hearers of Noah's preaching was a proffer of salvation, may not be accepted without further examination.

Upon this passage the learning of the Church has been exercised since the days of the early Fathers, and through all that period it has been a kind of gordian knot among exegetes and theologians which no sword of authority has been able to cut.

Groups of consenting interpreters have gathered about various theories, and over against each have stood other and opposing groups; and quite evidently, in nearly every case, what has been accepted has not been entirely satisfactory, but was accepted as the most probable, or least difficult, and in most cases because best adapted to serve some preconceived opinion or method of exegesis. Many of the Greek Fathers, Clement, Irenæus, Justin, Origen, Hippolytus, and Gregory, who would seem to be those most likely to understand the language of the apostle, and to know in what sense the words were at first received, agree that Peter is here speaking of Christ's descent into *hades*; but in respect to the errand upon which he went thither, and what he actually did, they are not agreed. Augustine, at a later date, says that a few had believed that he had offered salvation to any that would receive him, which shows that the notion of a *post-mortem* probation is not a modern invention; and this opinion he states at length, and discusses carefully, and without explicit dissent, and yet he confesses his own uncertainty as to the apostle's meaning. At that age, however, there was entire unanimity in the Church in respect to our Lord's personal appearance in *hades*, but not so as to the persons to whom he preached, nor as to the character of the announcements made, except that it was agreed on all hands that it was a message of good tidings to the righteous dead.

In his remarks on this subject Augustine threw out a theory of the case which was taken up and defended by some of the later Latin Fathers, and by the great lights of the Middle Ages, and since the Reformation by some eminent Protestant writers. As stated by Athanasius, from whom Augustine received it, this theory—for it is only a theory—stands about in this wise. The "spirits in prison" are the unbelieving ones who lived in the time of Noah, whose souls were (at the time of Noah's preaching) shut up in the flesh and in the darkness of unbelief and ignorance; that to these Christ preached (while they were yet living) in his divine nature. To this scheme for getting rid of the difficulty there are two formidable objections: first, that it is wholly unsupported by the language of the text; and, second, that if accepted, it does not remove the difficulties in hand. It is altogether forced and arbitrary, and also barren of results. Its weakness is briefly but aptly stated by a recent

commentator: "The preaching of Noah certainly cannot mean a personal act of the spirit of Christ, even supposing that the word *spirit* here refers to the divine Word, which is, to say the least, wholly improbable. The expression, *ἐν φυλακῇ, in prison*, certainly does not mean 'in the prison of ignorance,' but a state of *durance*. The Greek *ἀπειθήσασι, disobedient, unpersuaded*, necessarily refers to a period antecedent to the announcement; and *ἐκήρυξε, he preached*, indicates a single act, not a series of admonitions." This theory, therefore, does violence to the grammatical sense of the text, and of course cannot be accepted.

Respecting the subject-matter of the preaching beyond what is conveyed by the word itself, and also as to its effects, the apostle gives no intimation; but he leaves the subject open to whatever implications may be found in the statement that having been waited upon by God's long-suffering in the days of Noah, when they were "disobedient," or *unbelieving*, they are now *inurance*. But having been brought to this point by the plain and unmistakable language of the text, the question is forced upon our attention, and demands an answer: Why did Christ go to these, and what was the message that he delivered to them? And as to this no general, satisfactory answer has been rendered, it is usually found that each interpreter has one at hand, dictated by his antecedent dogmatic conceptions—a basis of argument beyond all others the most unreliable.

The Church of Rome, and all who hold the doctrine of purgatory, find in this text both a confirmation and an elucidation of that article of their creed. They hold that it speaks of Christ's going to hell (the bad side of *hades*) to preach the Gospel to the damned, or, perhaps, to the place where the souls of the patriarchs were detained—the *limbus patrum*—to whom he preached, and whom he delivered from that place and took with him to paradise. But Calmet—a not inconsiderable authority, though, as a good Catholic, he conceded the doctrine of purgatory—expresses a doubt whether there is in this passage any reference to that subject. But we who discard the whole doctrine of purgatory may dismiss that interpretation of the text, as not affording any help toward a solution of its difficulties.

The intimation before given that the Greek word rendered "preached" does not necessarily imply simply the offer of grace, but also the denunciation of curses, and that in this particular case it may be taken in the latter sense, has been defended by a respectable array of authorities, chiefly Protestants, among them Flaccæus, Buddæus, Wolf, Aretius, and others among the Germans, and also by some of the most respectable English and American authorities. Dr. Whedon, with characteristic acuteness and discrimination, remarks: "This (the word here used) is not *ἐπαγγέλιζω*, the ordinary word for preaching the Gospel, but *κηρύσσω*, to proclaim as a herald, to publish, to announce, to preach. It is used sixty times in the New Testament, and in every instance what is preached or published must be sought in the context. *It never in itself means to preach the Gospel.*" Dr. Hodge, without deciding what the word *must* mean in this place, concedes that it *may* signify that the proclamation was either "the Gospel" (saving or otherwise) "or his (Christ's) own triumph; or deliverance from sheol; or the coming judgment." "It is certain," he adds, "that Christ, after his death upon the cross, entered the invisible world, and there, in some way, made proclamation of what he had done on earth." Dr. Pope, referring to this text only incidentally, remarks: "The words will allow no other interpretation than that, in the interval between his death and resurrection, the Redeemer asserted his authority and lordship in the vast region *where the congregation of the dead* is the great aggregate of mankind;" and this would leave the character of that authority in its operation upon its subjects to be determined by the relations of those subjects to that authority. To understand the word in the wider and more general sense is certainly not openly in opposition to its New Testament usage, and it is strictly according to its classical use; and certainly the rendering last given violates no fixed law of interpretation, and it, better than any other, gives to the passage a sense in harmony with Protestant orthodoxy.

The Church Fathers before referred to, who maintained the doctrine of Christ's descent into *hades*, explained *ἐκήρυξεν*, *preached*, in its more usual New Testament sense of proclaiming grace and salvation; but by "spirits in prison" they understood

only *the spirits of the righteous dead*, and especially the Old Testament saints who were then and there waiting for Christ and his salvation; but Marcion held that the message was to the virtuous of the heathen world, who were, till then, imprisoned under idolatry. Calvin accepted the former interpretation, confessing, however, that it was not agreeable to the requirements of the original text; but he supposed that as Peter was not expert in the Greek language he had failed to properly express what he intended to write; all of which is better calculated to provoke a smile than to produce conviction: and this violent method of dealing with the text is to be either explained or excused on the confession that no other or more satisfactory method of dealing with the subject could be devised. The suggestion of Dr. Clarke, in his note on verse 19, that "the spirits in prison" to whom Christ preached were those who, though they were "disobedient" in respect to Noah's personal warnings, yet when they saw the flood actually coming *repented*, is also favored by Estius, Luther, and Bellarmine, and also by Bengel, who says: "Probably some of so great a multitude, as the flood was coming, *repented*, and all such he supposes God had permitted until that time to remain in the same prison with those who persisted in their unbelief, quite unaware of the results of their repentance, of which they were now informed. Perhaps Joseph Cook has seen this scheme of the exegetes. Were it not that the subject is both very grave and very difficult, and that the names of those who have favored this scheme are of great weight, one might be tempted to characterize it as puerile, far-fetched, and fanciful.

Some of our later and ablest theologians and exegetes favor the opinion that Christ's preaching in *hades* was simply a manifestation of the Gospel alike in saving grace and in judgment, the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of vengeance of our God to the "spirits"—good and bad—there "in prison" (*ἐν φυλακῇ*). This would be to the righteous the assurance of eternal glorification with Christ, and to the "disobedient" the revelation of God's righteous judgment to be more fully revealed in due time—which fuller and complete manifestation shall be made when there shall be a resurrection both of the *just* and of the *unjust*, and when every man shall be judged according to the deeds done in the *body*. This double aspect

of the divine dispensations toward the saved and the unsaved is often seen in the word of God, as it was illustrated in the guiding pillar of the Exodus, which to the Israelites was light and assurance, and to the Egyptians darkness and dismay; and in respect to this St. Paul speaks of the Gospel which he preached as, to different kinds of persons, "a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." So it may be understood that Christ's coming among earth's dead *in hades*—the *just* and the *unjust*—making manifest among them the divine scheme of the Gospel of which he was the apostle and high-priest, was in fact a proclamation, not, indeed, of terms and conditions of salvation, but of the nature and intent of the divine economy under which they had lived and died—some in the obedience of faith, and some, faithlessly and in unbelief—the results of which in respect to each was then clearly made known. This interpretation and application of the passage under consideration is not against the plain language of the text, and at the same time it gives to its utterance an awful significance, altogether worthy of the occasion, and also in agreement with all the requirements of the accepted faith of evangelical Christendom.

It is well known that very strong efforts have recently been made to so interpret this text as to make it do service in favor of the doctrine of a *post-mortem* probation, for at least some of those who die unrepentant. The attempt, however, has been only indifferently successful, since in order to reach that conclusion the meaning of the ambiguous or general word "preached" must be assumed to be ascertained and settled, beyond reasonable doubts, in one exclusive and specific sense; and after being thus shut up to a definite and limited application in order to fit it for the desired purpose, the word still needs to have not a little read into it that does not naturally belong to it. This drift of thought—which in his case seems to amount to conviction—is thus stated by Dean Alford, whose general reputation for conservative orthodoxy, together with his extensive biblical and theological learning, entitles his opinions to great respect. His words are:

With the great majority of commentators, ancient and modern, I understand these words to say, that our Lord in his disembodied state did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce his work of redemption—preach salva-

tion, in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who had refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the flood was hanging over them. Why these, rather than others, are mentioned—whether merely as a sample of the like gracious work on others, or for some special reason unimaginable by us—we cannot say. It is ours to deal with the plain words of Scripture, and to accept its revelations as far as vouchsafed to us. And they are vouchsafed to us to the utmost limit of legitimate inference from revealed facts. That inference every intelligent reader will draw from the fact here announced. (?) It is not purgatory; it is not universal restoration; but it is one that throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of the divine justice—the cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it; and as we cannot say to what other cases this *κήρυγμα* (preaching) may have applied, so it would be presumption in us to limit its occurrence or its efficacy.

These are remarkable words; and especially so when presented as the language of the learned and eminently conservative exegete and theologian from whom they proceed. But in a case of this kind authority avails nothing against rational criticism, and at that tribunal these words must be tested. And here it is objected, first of all (as has been already shown), that in determining the sense of the word *ἐκήρυξεν* (preached) we are not inevitably shut up to the single meaning of proclaiming the *grace of salvation*. Of the sixty times that the word in some one or other of its forms occurs in the New Testament, a not inconsiderable proportion cannot be made to bear that sense. The passage in Isaiah already referred to (chapter lxi, 2), applied to Christ and his work in the New Testament, speaks not only of *preaching* “the acceptable year of the Lord”—*εὐαγγελίσασθαι*—but it has coupled with it, in the language of the prophet, as a part of the same proclamation, “the day of vengeance of our God.” The “strong triumphant traveler” who comes “from Edom, with dyed garments,” stained with the blood of his enemies, and in whose heart was the “day of vengeance,” synchronizing with “the year of his redeemed,” is the same ONE who “went and preached to the spirits in prison.” If, then, Christ is set forth in prophecy as a *Destroyer*, as well as a *Redeemer*, why should not his own proclamation of himself and his Messianic work in the spirit world contain the announcement of his wrath—a certain fearful expectation of judgment—against those who

had filled up the measure of their lives in unbelief and disobedience? The future manifestations of Christ of which we read in the New Testament are certainly as strongly marked with punitive and destructive elements as the opposite; and yet these are parts of his Messianic work; and by analogy we might expect that his manifestation of himself to the *dead* would show forth the same characteristics. The first approaches of the Gospel are uniformly with offers of mercy, and therefore the proclamation of the Gospel as something *new* is uniformly an *evangel*; but to the unbelieving and disobedient it becomes a *malediction*. Is it not, then, the more rational to understand the preaching of our Lord to "the spirits in prison," who were in their life-time disobedient rejecters of God's messages of mercy, as revelations of wrath rather than offers of grace?

The passage in chapter iv, 6, which reads, "For unto this end was the Gospel preached even to the dead," has been referred to as in its sense parallel with that first considered, but, as it seems to us, evidently without any good reason. In that place the word used (*εὐηγγελίσθη*) uniformly implies the good tidings of the Gospel, and it relates to something that had certainly occurred in human history; and the word *νεκροῖς*, *the dead*, can scarcely be made to bear any other meaning than that of *persons now deceased*, to whom, during their life-time, the Gospel was preached with the intent indicated. This, and the still more remote and far-fetched passage about "those who are baptized for the dead" (1 Cor. xv, 29), are all the Scriptures that are claimed to support Dean Alford's interpretation.

And here it may be well to suggest, that, in interpreting obscure texts of Holy Scripture, if they are to be explained at all—and there are those that defy all attempts in that direction—it should be done in the light of passages and doctrinal statements that are clearly intelligible, and of certain and well-determined import. That the text under consideration is obscure and of doubtful meaning has been confessed ever since the early ages of the Church; it seems, therefore, scarcely allowable to give precedence to such a text, and to accept it as teaching an article of faith that is not learned from the not obscure statements of the New Testament, an interpretation the manifest drift of which, indeed, seems to be opposed to its

uniform teachings, and to the "analogy of faith." Nor are we at liberty to accept any man's determination as to what are the *due proportions* between this or that form of sinning, and the *final doom* incurred by it. To do that belongs to God alone; and we can learn nothing respecting the demerits of sin, or the relative punishableness of different forms and degrees of sin, except as we receive our instruction from the word of God. If there is one prerogative of the divine SOVEREIGN that is sacred above every other, it is that of *judgment*—the vindication of his righteousness and his *throne*. It is for us to confess that "the Judge of the whole earth will do right;" and it is great *presumption*, not to say *impiety*, making fearful approaches to *blasphemy*, for any creature to attempt to say what God may or may not do, or to mark out a proportion between the "final doom" of the divine judgment and the "lapse" by which that doom is incurred. Who will measure "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," and determine with mathematical exactness the due proportions between any of its concrete forms and the divine judgment against it?

We end as we began, confessing the very great difficulty of reaching an altogether satisfactory understanding of some things in the passage that we have been considering, though much that it teaches is very evident. It presents the this-world side of the history of Christ's death as an indisputable reality; and over against this is presented the spirit-world side as equally real. It assumes, and so virtually asserts, the continuous living of human souls after physical death—that to die *fleshwise* is to be *made* or *found* alive, spiritwise. It opens a scene in the world of spirits, and so opens to us a revelation in eschatology, perhaps the fullest and clearest in all the Scriptures. It enables us to follow Christ in his "descent into *hades*;" his personal subjection to death for a little while, as a man with men, and his coming from under that subjection by the power of the Father, and according to the word of prophecy (Psa. xvi, 10), which was a Messianic act, performed in our nature, and in behalf of all who shall be found in Christ, who is "the resurrection and the life." With so much clearly taught in the passage, it must always be esteemed invaluable, even though some of its parenthetical parts defy all our attempts to expound them.

ART. V.—ETHNOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

ETHNOGRAPHERS, who describe the different races of men, with their characteristics, circumstances, manners, and habits; and ethnologists, who treat of the origin, relations, and marked differentiations of those races, find among the peoples who inhabit Northern and Central Africa an ample field for their researches, and abundant material for the exercise of their skill in classification. And as, according to Elisée Reclus, ethnology is related to ethnography as the juice is to the grape, so do the relations of language and the similitude of appearance and habit help to trace the oneness of origin of all related types of man.

The Bible is the only volume that pretends to impart authentic information about the primitive settlement of Africa. The "Toldoth Beni-Noah," remarks a writer in the "Asiatic Society's Journal," vol. iv, p. 230, "is the most authentic record we possess for the affiliation of races." The biblical genealogies are of great historical importance,

as marking strongly the vital truth, that the entire framework and narrative of Scripture is in every case real, not ideal; plain and simple matter of fact, not fanciful allegory evolved out of the author's consciousness; and often these passages of Scripture, dry and forbidding as is their first aspect, will well repay a careful and scholarly study. They are like an arid range of bare and stony mountains, which, when minutely examined, reveals to the investigator mines of emerald or diamond.*

What is dark in them now may hereafter receive floods of light from the researches of judicious explorers. The history of antiquarian science fully justifies this expectation.

The earliest of the post-diluvian genealogies is that in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. Under its surface is concealed "a very considerable amount of important historical and ethnological truth." The majority of the names there given occur elsewhere in the Bible in an ethnic, or else in a geographical, sense. Cush, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Mizraim, Caphtorium, Pathrusim, Ludim, Phut, Seba, etc., indicate either countries or nations—sometimes both. The object of the author is

* Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 106.

evidently to give a sketch of the interconnection of races. All the names he mentions, with the exception of those of Noah and his three sons, are probably ethnic. This document is, in fact, the earliest ethnographic essay in existence. It relates chiefly to the nations with whom the Jews, at the time of its composition, had some acquaintance. It indicates the principle of ethnic subdivision. It exhibits the fact that races, as they increase, subdivide; and that "as mankind spread over the earth there was a constant breaking up into a larger, and still larger, number of nations," distinct politically, also linguistically, and so ethnically. This fact, as G. Rawlinson observes, furnishes "the only theory of ethnology which at once harmonizes with, and accounts for, the facts of language as comparative philology reveals them to us."

Four principal races are alleged to have descended from Ham, the second son of Noah. These are designated, respectively, Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. (Gen. x, 6.) Cush is usually synonymous with Ethiopia, the modern *Habesh*, or Abyssinia. But there was also an Asiatic Cush, which Ezekiel coupled with Persia (Ezek. xxxvii, 5), and Isaiah with Elam (Isa. xi, 11), and which included a portion of the Arabians, the primitive Babylonians, and the Cissians. Between Arabia and Abyssinia there has been much of intercourse that has modified the physical type of both nations, and especially of the latter. The Mizrim, or Egyptians, descended from the same source as the Ethiopian inhabitants of the upper Nile valley, with whom they were frequently and intimately associated. Phut, or "the Phut," are probably identical with the people called *Pet* by the Egyptians—a people whose emblem was the unstrung bow, and who dwelt in Nubia, the tract of country between Egypt and Ethiopia. Canaan was the district on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Some of its inhabitants, it is conjectured, migrated to Africa after their expulsion from their native seats by the Israelites under Joshua.

The Cushites of Ethiopia, settled in the south and south-east of Egypt, between the main stream of the Nile and the sea-coast, sent out colonies to new localities. Of these, Seba, situated between the Nile and the Atbara, was thus occupied. Meroe (*Saba*), its capital, became famous for its eminence, and for the physical superiority of its citizens. From

Seba emigrants appear to have crossed the Red Sea into the Havilah district, which the learned identify with Khâwlan, in the north-west of the modern Yemen. Thence they spread, under the name of Sabtah, into Hadramaut; and from thence, under the appellation of Raamah, and subsequently of Sheba and Dedan, to the shores of the Persian Gulf. There they seem to have amalgamated with the Semites. (Gen. x, 28, 29.) The enterprising and commercial character of this mixed race—the Sabæans—is celebrated alike by biblical and classical writers.

That this was the line of dissemination is very probable in view of the fact that “M. Antoine d’Abbadie, Dr. Beke, M. Fresnel, and others, have proved that there are to this day races in Southern Arabia, especially the Mahras, whose language is decidedly non-Semitic; and that between this language and that of the Abyssinian tribes of the Galla, Agau, and their congeners, there is very considerable affinity.”* The Mahra, moreover, is proven by analysis to be the modern representative of the ancient Himyaritic speech. These facts, and many others of similar character, establish our confidence in the wise and accurate guidance of the Mosaic genealogist while studying the ethnography of Africa.

The descendants of Mizraim, the second son of Ham, were the principal settlers of Africa to the west of the ancient *Khem*, or Egypt. The genealogist divides them into eight tribes or nations: “The Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphthuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim), and Caphtorim.” (Gen. x, 13, 14.) G. Rawlinson supposes the Ludim, who are commonly united with either Phut or Cush, or both, by the major prophets, and who were closely allied with Egypt, to have settled in the Nile valley, north of Phut; and that the Anamim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, and Casluhim were East African tribes, who were probably soon absorbed by the Egyptians. The Lehabim, identical with the Lubim, with the Rebu, or Lebu, of the Egyptian monuments, and with the Libyans (*Λίβυες*, *Libyi*) of the Greeks and Romans, occupied the country west of Egypt, and on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. When the Greeks seized the Cyrenaica, they named the entire southern continent Libya, after the aboriginal inhabitants.

* Rawlinson’s “Origin of Nations,” p. 209.

Gliddon differs from Rawlinson with respect to the geographical distribution of most of the Mizraïtic tribes. The Casluhim, he maintains, dwelt in Barbary, and became the progenitors of "the Shillouhs, one of the grand duplex divisions of Gætulian families." * The "Ludim probably occupied Mauritania." "We rejoice to learn from Gräberg de Hemso that the Ludaya tribe still furnishes the Sultan's body-guard in Morocco, and that their river Tagassa is yet called Luad and Thaluda." † The Ananim are Numidians. ‡ The Lehabim were "a nomadic people of Gætulian race, and of Berberesque habitats." § The Naphtuhim lived "around Mareotic provinces, on the confines of the MTs R I M, or Egyptians. They spoke Berber dialects, like the rest of their Berberesque brethren, and may be safely assumed as ranking among the easternmost representatives of the great Gætulian race." || The Pathrusim were the Pharusii of ancient Barbary. ¶ Gliddon, as he himself with gleeful malignity conjectures, is doubtless as much or more in harmony with the Mosaic genealogy on this point than Rawlinson.

All ethnographers agree that the descendants of the Libyans, whose different Mizraïtic tribes constituted what Bodichon termed the "one veritably indigenous race in Barbary, namely, the Gætulian," are to be found in the modern Tuariks and Berbers of Northern Africa, west of the Nile system. These not only inhabit the Sahara and the chain of the Atlas, but extend to the shores of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and into the fertile regions contiguous to the Great Desert.

The Libyan tribe of the Marmaridæ is represented by the modern Berbers; and that of the Cabales by the Cabyles. Numerous customs recorded by the ancients as obtaining among the ancient Libyans are found still to exist among the Berbers and Tuariks. On these grounds the best modern ethnologists regard the identity of the two races as established; and speak of the Berbers, Tuariks, Shuluhs, and Cabyles, etc., as the aboriginal descendants of Northern Africa.**

Says De Slane:

The Berbers, autochthonous people of Northern Africa, are the same race that is now designated by the name of Kabiles. The

* Nott and Gliddon, "Types of Mankind," pp. 517, 521.

† *Ibid.*, p. 514.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 516.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 518.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

** Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. ii, p. 25, *et seq.*

different names under which this [the Kabile] idiom presents itself are recognized in a common appellative, as if forming branches of one and the same trunk. The word Berber comprises equally the Kabâil of the littoral, the Chawéeya of the south-east, the Shilhéeya of Morocco, the Beni-M'zab, and the Tuariks, and, in the same manner that all these dialects offer but slight differences among themselves, leaving no doubt whatever as to their community of origin, so the peoples that make use of them must be regarded as the scattered members of one and the same family.

On the Jurjura plateaus there is a tribe still called (*beni*, Arabic for "sons") Beni-Kébila; another on the Aures is (*owlâd* = children) Oued-Shelih, or Shilhéeya; and a third, *Beni-Berber*; and thus, without break in the chain of nomenclature, we can now ascend, in the same language, race, and country, from the T-*Amazirg*, or *Amazirg-T*, or "freemen," name given by this people to themselves through the *Mazée-eh* of Arab authors, to the *Gentes Mazicæ* of the Romans, and thence, finally, to the *Μαζῆνες* of Herodotus, in whose day they were *Βαρβαροι*; that is to say, not *barbarians* etymologically, but these same old *Berberoi*, our "Berbers." *

Ebn Khaleedoon, the Berber historiographer, as quoted by Nott and Gliddon,† is right as to the Hamitic origin of the Berbers, but wrong as to the special line of descent. "Now the real fact," he affirms, "which dispenses with all hypotheses is this: The Berbers are the children of Canaan, son of Ham, son of Noah. Their grandfather was named Mazyh (the *Masici* of the Latins, the *Mazæes* of the Greeks)."

The Kabyles inhabit the northern region of Africa; the Shillouhs, the southern portion of Morocco; the Berbers, the south part of Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Saharan desert. The Chawéeya inhabit the ocean coast of Central Morocco, the northerly section of the triple Atlas chain, the Algerian *landes*, and the mountainous interior. The tribes of Libyan blood have also originated other and different communities by intermarriage with Negroes. The Hamitic character of the Berber tribes is further manifested by the resemblance of their languages to those spoken on the banks of the Nile.

A very considerable analogy has been traced between the native languages of North Africa and the Egyptian and Coptic;

* Nott and Gliddon, "Indigenous Races," p. 535.

† "Indigenous Races," p. 540.

an analogy which is more striking in the structure than in the roots, but which extends to some of the simplest and earliest words. In Berber one is "*ouan*," in Coptic "*ouot*," in Egyptian "*oua*;" in Shuluh two is "*seen*," in Coptic "*snaü*;" in Coptic to drink is "*so*," it is "*soo*" in Berber and Tuarik. *Ouas*, Berber for "day," resembles Coptic, or rather Sahidic, "*hu*;" *ikhf*, Berber for "head," may be traced in Egyptian *ape*, and Coptic *aphe*, which in the oasis of Ammon is *akhfe*. Tuarik *mar* for "man" is perhaps identical with Coptic and Egyptian *ronu*. These and other similar resemblances are regarded as sufficient to constitute the Berber, Tuarik, etc., "cognate" dialects to the Egyptian; and "cognate dialects" are an indication of "cognate races."

Similar considerations suggest race relations between the communities of eastern Africa, the Berbers, and the Egyptians, and afford strong presumption of common Hamitic origin. Peschel remarks:

Of the Hamites of East Africa, the inhabitants of the Nubian Nile districts, who call themselves Barbâra, or Berbers, most resemble the ancient Egyptians. They were formerly Christians, until the fall of the Berber Nilitic empire of Dongola, in 1320. Between the Nubian Nile and the Red Sea live tribes called Blemmyer by old geographers, Bedsha by the Axumitic inscriptions, and also by Arab geographers. Their purest representatives are the Bishareen, Haddendoa, and some of the Beni-Amer, who, in addition to a corrupt Arabic, speak Tobedaunie, a more ancient Hamite language with three genders. Between the Blue Nile and the Atbara rove the nomadic tribes of the Awlâd Abu, Simbil, and Shukurieh, which latter are not descended from the Arabs, although they speak a corrupt Arabic. The Kababish live as shepherds between the Nile and Kordofan; and on both banks of the White River, above the mouth of the Blue Nile, live the Hassanieh. Both are pronounced to be Arabs, although in type they are East African Hamites.*

C. L. Brace, in his "Races of the Old World," calls the Berbers Semites, apparently for the reason that there are some linguistic resemblances between their speech and that of the Semitic peoples. For the same reason they might be termed *Sub-Semites*. Dr. Robert Brown observes that "the Amazirgh languages are allied to the Hebrew and Arabic, and have been called sub-Semitic."† The real fact seems to be that these

* Peschel, "The Races of Man," pp. 482, 483.

† "Races of Mankind," vol. ii, p. 208.

resemblances point to a common origin of the Hamitic and Semitic families, and go far to establish the scriptural doctrine of the unity of mankind.

The language of the ancient Egyptians, though it cannot be classed in the Semitic family with the Hebrew, has important points of correspondence—whether due to the long intercourse between the two races in Egypt, or to some deeper ancestral connection—and such analogies also appear in the Berber languages of North Africa.*

Not less certainly than language do the physical peculiarities of different types of the human race point to community of origin. Says Topinard :

By human type must be understood the average of characters which the human race, supposed to be pure, presents. . . . Let us take an example: The Berber people is formed, 1. Of a brown autochthonous groundwork, that is to say, of the most ancient of which we can find any trace; 2. Of blondes from the North, Arabs from the East, and Negroes from the South. The Berber type is *ensemble* of the characters which must have belonged exclusively to the autochthonous stock; its sub-types are the Tuarik, the Kabyl, etc. It is the offspring of some other more general type of which we are still ignorant.†

The area over which the Berber formerly spread was much larger than that over which he now ranges. The movements of population, which modified his physical character, restricted him within more limited confines. The Berber type is found not only in Africa, but, according to Topinard, "there is every reason to believe that it intrenched upon southern Europe, and that the oldest stock of the Iberian peninsula, the basin of the Garonne, and the islands of the Mediterranean are Berber."‡ The same stock also furnished the primitive (Guancho) population to the Canary Islands.

It is in the level country of the Sahara that "the Berber strain was every-where able to maintain itself in full purity." In North Africa it has been modified by the influx of many nations, mostly Semitic, and also by North European conquerors.

In Eastern Africa, the Abyssinians have become better known to Christians by the labors of missionaries, and by the British expedition under Lord Napier, sent thither to effect the forcible release of the persons detained in captivity by the Em-

* Tylor, "Anthropology," p. 160.

† *Ibid.*, p. 447.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 462.

peror Theodore. In the Abyssinians is an admixture of Semitic blood from Arabia, and possibly a slight infusion of it from Palestine. Seventy years before Mohammed made his appearance in Arabian affairs, the kingdom of Yemen was conquered by the Negus of Ethiopia, who assisted the persecuted Christians against their Jewish king, Dha Nowas. Khosrú Anushirvan, the Persian emperor, drove out the Abyssinians shortly before the advent of Mohammed. The Gheez, now a dead language, was the national speech of the Abyssinians in the age of Frumentius, when the capital of their empire was at Axum, and

is nearly related to the idiom of the Himyaritic inscriptions. The Abyssinians of the ancient empire are thus proved to have been a part of the great stock of the Himyarite or southern Arabs, who appear to have possessed the countries on both sides of the Arabian Gulf for many ages before the Hegira, and in all probability before the Christian era.*

That blending of Hamitic with Semitic blood, which first produced the Sabæan nation in southern Arabia, and which has imparted such strength and tenacity to the several divisions of the Abyssinian people, has also made itself manifest in the interior of the African continent. Many—indeed, most—of the so-called Arabs, who are the chief factors of the slave trade, and who have established themselves at different points on the eastern coast, and in the central basin down to and south of the equator, have more or less of the Hamitic strain. In the Soodan they intermarry with the Negroes, and raise large families of children.

Now that the eyes of the civilized world are fixed on the agitations of the Egyptian Soodan, and that they are watching with intense interest for the results of the impending collision between the disciplined forces of Great Britain and the fanatic hordes of El Mahdi, inquiry into the ethnic character of the Negro nations is particularly opportune.

The Egyptian Soodan not only includes Kordofan, Darfur, and Sennaar, but also an indefinite tract of country as far south as the equator, and including portions of the great lakes from whence issue the principal feeders of the White Nile. Its indigenous inhabitants have black or very dark, and often sooty, skins; *dolicho-cephalous*, or long, narrow

* Prichard, "Physical History of Mankind," vol. iv, p. 585.

heads; *prognathous*, or projecting jaws; long thigh-bones, long arms, lean shanks, an oblique set of the pelvis, and are deficient in "secondary sexual characters." They are also distinguished by short, crisp hair, each fiber of which is flattened like the fiber of wool. The beard is wanting, the lips are thick and prominent, the mouth often enormously large, the forehead retreating, and the nose flattened. "The skin is thick and velvety, and emits an exhalation of a pungent, unpleasant, and characteristic odor." Meager thighs, calfless legs, elongated heels, and archless feet are also the possessions of many Negroes, but by no means of all. The native habitat of the Negro is from the southern border of the Sahara, which has fallen under the dominion of hybrid Hamites and hybrid Semites, to the Cape Colony. Winchell includes the Caffres among the true Negroes, but excludes the Hottentots and Bushmen. The lowest of all the Negro tribes are found in the region of the White Nile, where the Shillouhs and Dinkas closely resemble in physical characteristics the Fundi Negroes of the Blue Nile, who founded the kingdom of Sennaar. The latter have very long, crimped hair; color, varying from brown to blue-black, excepting the hand and the sole of the foot, which are of a flesh-red color. The lips are fleshy, but not intumescent, and the nose straight or slightly aquiline. They are probably of mixed race. "Kordofan," says Prichard, "is probably the oasis whence the Nobatæ, or Nouba, originated. . . . The Nouba themselves may be an offset from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia."* Their descendants, barbarized in the forests of Central Africa, would, he asserts, present the appearance they now do. Friedrich Müller places the Foulahs or Fellatahs of the Niger in ethnic association with the Nouba, and refers them collectively to the north-east. On all the borders of the nations south of the Sahara is noticed a blending with the Negro type.

The question is, whether the Hamites, blackish-brown or brownish-black on the Nile, would assume, and did assume, the sooty color now characteristic of the fluviatile Soodanese after settling in the hot, humid, malarious valley of the Upper Nile and its tributaries; and further, whether their descendants, emerging from the depressions of the Nile system, and estab-

* "Natural History of Man."

lishing themselves on the mountainous regions and on the shores of the upper lakes, and on the vast plains of the southern interior, would, under altered environments, regain the physical type of their remote ancestors.

The answer to this question, we hold, must be wholly affirmative. African travelers, especially Dr. Livingstone, hold that existing modifications of the human race on the continent of Africa are caused by the joint power of all or of several of the factors—climate, heat, moisture, malaria, exposure, food, occupation, and intermarriage. Shelter, excitement, culture, religion, also modify color and structure. These forces are sufficient to account for all variations of the human form within historic time, from the probably original brown color and Semitic Arab conformation of the primal pair from whom all peoples have descended. This theory accounts for and is in harmony with all the facts of the case. Smyth, in his “Unity of the Human Races,” further argues, and with valid logic, that it is concordant with the Bible, with history, and with tradition; with the intellectual, religious, and moral constitution of human nature; with the universality, nature, and connection of languages; with the fertility of intermarriages, and with the best interests of society.

I do not [wrote the eminent physiologist, Dr. J. W. Draper] contemplate the human race as consisting of varieties, much less of distinct species; but rather as offering numberless representations of the different forms which an ideal type can be made to assume under exposure to different conditions.*

Nearly all, if not quite all, the alleged types of the human race can be seen at any time in a leisurely walk down Broadway.

It is interesting to note the deepening hue of the human race as it approaches the equator, and particularly in the riverine systems. “The women of Mequinas, in Northern Africa,” Jackson wrote, “are very beautiful, and have the red and white complexion of Englishwomen.”† Mr. Hodgson discovered that the people of Wadraag, though speaking the Berber language with purity and correctness, were not only black, “as many of the genuine Arabs of the country are known to be, but have

* “Human Physiology,” pp. 565, 566. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.

† “Types of Mankind,” p. 207. Nott & Gliddon.

features approaching those of the Negroes, and hair like that which [characterizes most of] the human race." He believed

that these characters had been acquired, not as the result of the intermixture of races, which the local circumstances of the tribes seemed to him to preclude, but through the long-continued agency of physical causes upon a tribe of generic Tuarik origin, though the ordinary type of the race is almost similar to the Arabian.*

The traveler Buckingham remarked of Semites in similar environments:

It is, certainly, a very marked peculiarity of the Arabs who inhabit the valley of the Jordan, that they have flatter features, darker eyes, and coarser hair than any other tribe, a peculiarity rather attributable, I conceive, to the constant and intense heat of that region than to any other cause.†

Darwin has described the marvelous variations of animals under domestication; and modern anatomists dwell upon the shorter jaws of the present generation, and the early loss of the wisdom-tooth, which is no longer needed for the grinding of cereal food. These facts are of similar character with the changes undergone by human beings in Africa under changed conditions of existence. Reginald Stuart Poole, in "The Genesis of the Earth and Man" (p. 69), has, we think, inverted the facts he recognizes in the statement that

Providence has ordained rapid means of effecting a change from the form and hue of the darkest of our species to the form and hue of the fairest; but only extremely slow means of effecting the contrary change, except in respect of color.

Dr. Livingstone and other African travelers not infrequently protest against the grotesque caricature of the typical Negro by writers who labor in defense of unscriptural and untenable theories. That eminent missionary scientist affirms:

With every disposition to pay due deference to the opinions of those who have made ethnology their special study, I have felt myself unable to believe that the exaggerated features usually put forth as those of the typical Negro characterize the majority of any nation of South-eastern Africa. The monuments of the ancient Egyptians seem to me to embody the ideal of the inhabitants of Londa better than the figures of any work of ethnology I have met with.

* Prichard, "Natural History of Man," p. 559.

† *Ibid.*, p. 560.

To make ignorance the basis for attempted refutation of facts, stated by authors of high character and tried veracity, is an experiment perilous only to those who make it. Literature of ancient date is largely silent on the subject of African ethnology; but what is extant is certainly not opposed to the ethnic derivation of the native African tribes from the second son of Noah:

If it be shown in the investigations of the next few years, as many philologists predict, that the lowest African race—the Hottentot—is a descendant of the highest, the Egyptian [as it has been shown that the perishing outcasts known as the Veddahs are the descendants of those whose native tongue was the Sanskrit], then will be demonstrated that no degradation of physical type or mental condition is a necessary proof of diversity of origin.*

Magnificent specimens of physical manhood are frequent among the African Negro tribes, and Dr. Blyden, Williams,—the recently-appointed chief of the United States Exploring Expedition on the Congo,—and scores of other familiar names, prove that, under favorable Christian conditions, the black races are as capable of the highest civilization as the red, yellow, or white.

African exploration, and the ethnological conclusions founded upon its discoveries, is scarcely a century old. Vast unexplored sections await the coming of the adventurous pioneer, and will doubtless yield the knowledge of facts that must somewhat alter the character of scientific theories; but not, we are warranted in believing, in antagonism to the teaching of "God's word written."

Besides the ancient historical literature of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, we have, as sources of ethnic information about Africa, the antique monuments found in its northern portions. The Gomera of the district of Rif in Morocco are

possibly descended from those marine Celts who, in early ages, came down from the coasts of Africa, where they left the cairns, *peulvans*, and cromlechs, which the Romans at more than one place called Philœnian altars, particularly those found near Cyrene and in the Salt Lake.†

* C. L. Brace, "The Races of the Old World," p. 311.

† Col. C. H. Smith, "Natural History of the Human Species," p. 365.

Herodotus, the father of history, is the first writer who gave authentic information about the inhabitants of Africa. Homer, the father of epic poetry, also possessed some secondary knowledge of the African aborigines—knowledge whose comparative accuracy has been singularly verified by modern discoveries. Stretching westward to the Atlantic, on the northern coast of the continent, in the time of Herodotus were the *Adyrmachidæ*, *Gilligammæ*, *Asbystæ*, *Cabalians*, *Auschisæ*, *Nasamones*, and *Psylli*. South of the Nasamones were the *Garamantes*, who, like the modern Bosjesmen, avoided all intercourse with mankind. South-west of the Syrtis Minor (Gulf of Kabes) were the Lotophagi. Next came the Machylans and Auscans. In the Sahara were the kindred tribes of the *Gætuli*, and *Melano Gætuli*, whose descendants in the fertile countries south of the Sahara are known as Foulahs, Mandingoes, Jaloffs, etc. West of the Syrtis Minor were the *Maxyans*, *Gætuli*, the forefathers of the modern Tawarek, or *Tuarik*, the Numidians, and the Mauritians.

Phenicia was the first historic nation not Hamitic, of which we have any notice, to intrude its members into Africa. The Phenicians themselves were, in all probability, of mingled blood, and supplanted the Hamitic Canaanites on the sea-coast of Palestine. Of Semitic speech, though not of pure Semitic blood, they were as distinct from the Canaanites as the Anglo-Saxons were distinct from the Britons. According to Herodotus (vii, 89) and Justin (xviii, 3, sec. ii, etc.), they were immigrants into Syria from the shores of the Persian Gulf, at a period to which their national traditions extended. "Quiet and peaceable, a nation of traffickers, skillful in navigation and the arts, both useful and ornamental, unwarlike except at sea, and wholly devoted to commerce and manufactures,"* they yet found means to dispossess the fierce and intractable aborigines, and to establish themselves in their room. Between them and the Jews almost perpetual amity reigned, a fact which goes to prove their Semitic or sub-Semitic character.

The maritime genius of the Phenicians not only carried them to the shores of Africa, but induced them to found therein a number of commercial cities, of which Carthage was the head, and for a lengthened period the political rival of Rome.

* Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. iv, p. 198. Second edition.

Carthage was probably founded between the years 872 and 865 B. C. The Libyans understood the benefits of commerce, and gladly let a portion of the soil, at a fixed rent, to the new-comers. Originally nomads, they were early won to agricultural pursuits. Carthaginian colonies were thickly planted among them; intermarriages were encouraged; and a mixed people, known as Liby-Phenices, sprang up in the fertile territory south and south-west of Carthage. These were bilingual, spoke the Berber tongue, but also adopted the language and habits of the Asiatic settlers, and were faithful and attached subjects. Far beyond the range of territory thus occupied, the civilizing power of the Carthaginians extended. Their authority was eventually acknowledged by all the coast tribes as far west as the pillars of Hercules, and as far east as the territory of Cyrene. In the latter section of Africa the Greeks had established colonies about 630 B. C. Seventy years later they also settled in Barca. Punie blood was largely interused during several centuries with that of the native Libyans throughout Northern Africa, and as far south as Fezzan.

Rome followed Carthage as mistress of Northern Africa. The destruction of Carthage by Scipio Nasica, B. C. 146, followed by the annexation of Numidia, *cir.* B. C. 48, and of Mauritania, A. D. 40, converted the whole country into what was practically a Roman province. The new masters extended their civilization over the whole, and have left many durable monuments—described by Dr. Barth and other travelers—of their presence and power. They also further modified the ethnic character of the Libyan subdivisions by marriage and by the associations incident to the institution of slavery.

In A. D. 439 Genseric, at the head of the Vandals—a race allied to the Teutons or Goths, and coming from the region of the Elbe and Oder—captured Carthage and extended his dominion over the most fruitful provinces of Africa. In 535 Belisarius reconquered and placed them under the rule of the Greek emperor Justinian. Gelimer, the grandson of Genseric, was expatriated to Galatia, and the six hundred thousand—more or less—Vandals probably purchased their safety by

abjuring their character, religion, and language, and their degenerate posterity would be insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the

heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveler [Shaw, p. 59] has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race; and it was formerly believed that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their solitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Africa had been their empire; it became their prison.*

Gibbon adds in a note :

Yet since Procopius (l. ii, c. 13) speaks of a people of Mount Atlas, as already distinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon (which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, *Buffon*, tom. iii, p. 504) may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

Next in order of foreign irruption into Northern Africa came the Saracens, who, about the year 647, first attempted its conquest under the Caliph Othman. Akbah, the fearless and fanatic commander of the Arabs, "traversed the wilderness in which his successors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco," and reached the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. Spurring his horse into the waves, near the mouth of the river Sus, at no great distance from the Canary Islands, he exclaimed :

Great God ! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee.†

Akbah perished by the sword, but his fierce intolerant spirit survives in the persons of the Afric-Arabians.

By the year 709 the subjugation of the pure and composite African peoples was fully accomplished.

In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedouins of the desert. With the religion they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Libyan desert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans.‡

* Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iv, p. 140.

† *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 242.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 247, 248.

With the accession of the Turkish sultan to the caliphate of Islam came the introduction of another and entirely distinct ethnic element into Africa. The pure Turks are the descendants of nomads who formerly pitched their tents on the southern banks of the Oxus, in Central Asia. The modern Turks are hybrids of every race, combining all the vices and none, or very few, of the virtues of any of their ancestors. Their presence in Africa, as elsewhere, has only wrought corruption and death in blood, morals, and society.

The earliest trustworthy knowledge of Northern and Central Africa received in modern times, reached Christendom through the medium of the Arabs. Accompanied by the camel, "the ship of the desert," they pierced the Sahara as far as the Senegal and Gambia Rivers on the west, and Sofala, Mombas, and Melinda on the east. Toward the close of the eighteenth century, Houghton, Mungo Park, Hornemann, and Burekhardt explored portions of the "Dark Continent," and published accounts of their discoveries. Park lost his life at Boussa, on the Niger, in 1805. Hornemann, in 1796-98, journeyed from Cairo to Murzuk, in Fezzan, sent valuable information from thence about the countries, and especially of Bornoo, in the south. He, like Mungo Park, perished in his work. In 1822 Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney crossed the Great Desert from Tripoli to Lake T'sad, and explored from thence to Sakatu on the west, and Mandara in the south. Clapperton, in a second journey, crossed the Kawara (Niger) on his way from the coast of Guinea to Sakatu, where he died. Laing followed, and was murdered in the desert. In 1827-28 Caillié passed from Rio Nunez, on the western coast, to Timbuctoo, and from thence, through the Sahara, to Morocco.

Bruce, in 1768-73; Browne, who visited Darfur in 1793; Burekhardt, in 1814; Cailliand, in 1819; Rüppell, in 1824-25; Russegger, in 1837; D'Abbadie, in 1838-44; Dr. Beke, in 1840-44; D'Arnaud and Werne, on the White Nile in 1840-42; and Brun Rollet, in 1845, explored, and published narratives of their observations and adventures in Eastern Africa.

To establish trade and to abolish slavery in Northern Africa as far south as Lake T'sad, Dr. Barth, accompanied by Richardson and Dr. Overweg, left England in 1849. His companions died, but he successfully prosecuted his work until 1856. His

three volumes, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, are a rich treasury of information about the ethnography, religion, government, morals, manners, customs, commerce, and resources of the Sahara tribes, and of the central Negro states of the Northern Soodan. Burton and Speke, from Zanzibar, in 1857-59, discovered Lake Tanganyika. Speke also discovered another large lake, which he supposed to be the head reservoir of the Nile. Simultaneously, or nearly so, Petherick (1858), Lejean, Miani, the Poncets, Antinori, Debono, and Percy added much to our knowledge of the upper White Nile from the Egyptian side. Duveyrier, the scientific French traveler, also explored the Sahara. In 1860 Speke and Grant left Zanzibar for the lake the former had discovered. Speke named it the Victoria Nyanza, and traced the river overflowing from it to the White Nile at Gondokoro. In 1861 Gerhard Rohlfs, in Morocco, and in 1862 Petherick, on the White Nile, made important contributions to geographical science. In 1864 Sir Samuel Baker, pushing forward from Gondokoro, discovered the second great reservoir of the Nile, and named it the Albert Nyanza. In 1865-6 Rohlfs crossed the northern portion of the continent by nearly Barth's route, and thence south-westerly to the Bight of Benin. Dr. Schweinfurth, in 1869-71, penetrated the region of the complicated network of tributaries received by the White Nile, north-west of Gondokoro. Baker then annexed the whole country south, to the equator, to Egypt, and planted garrisons to maintain the hold. In 1869 Winwood Reade, from Sierra Leone to the head of the Niger; in 1867 Munzinger, in Northern Abyssinia; and in 1869 Dr. Nachtigal, carrying presents from the king of Prussia to the sultan of Bornoo on Lake T'sad, in acknowledgment of that potentate's kindness to former travelers, increased the volume of African geography. The latter particularly did excellent service by investigating the central mountainous country of Tibesti, which was previously known only by report.

Dr. Lenz, since then, has added the observations of the only scientifically trained explorer that ever traversed the vast region lying between Barth's route through Rhat and Air to the Atlantic to our knowledge of the Sahara. Quitting Tangier in November, 1879, he arrived at Timbuctoo in July, 1880, and at St. Louis, by way of the Senegal, in November following.

Leaving the city of Morocco on the 6th of March, in the guise of a Turkish physician, he was refused any guard beyond Terodant, south of the Atlas, on the ground that the sultan exercised but slight authority over the fierce and fanatical Shloh tribes in the southern part of his dominions. Intrusting himself to the hands of some Towara-Kabyle robbers, they conducted him safely through the territory of their people to Iler. There and at Temenet the dense population is chiefly of the Berber race. The Maribda Kabyles received him hospitably. Dr. Lenz discovered that the Atlas range is composed of three parallel chains; that the sand of the Great Desert was not formed by marine action, inasmuch as there were only fresh-water fossils, and that no part of it is below the ocean level. His barometric observations put an end to the scheme of inundating the Western Sahara. At Timbuctoo he was treated kindly, and for about a week was the guest of the head magistrate. He found it to be the chief slave-mart of Western Soodan, and that it supports numerous schools, possesses rich libraries, and is still the center in which the commercial exchanges between the Western Soodan and the Niger on the one hand, and the Sahara and the Mediterranean lands on the other, are conducted. From thence he made his way through the populous lands of the Massina and Bambarra to the Senegal. In all these regions, the work of exploration is mainly progressing through the instrumentality of Christian missionaries.

Careful study of the observations made by this multitude of travelers enables ethnographers, like Keith Johnston, to speak with near approach to certainty of the ethnical characters of the African populations. From the Mediterranean to the twentieth parallel of North latitude the population is mainly Arabic and Turkish. Many Jews and some French are domiciled among them. The Berber of the Atlas system of mountains, the Tuaricks (Tuarek, Touareg, Tawarek) and Tibbus of the Sahara, and the Copts of Egypt are of pure blood, or of blood with slight intermixture from foreign sources. The Moors are of mixed descent, native and foreign. "The Moors," says Topinard, "are the result of complex crossing between the Berber and every sort of ethnic element in which the Arab predominates."*

* "Anthropology," pp. 461, 462.

latitude to the Cape Colony the Negro tribes are overwhelmingly in the ascendant.

The Copts of Egypt number about 145,000, and are darker than the Arabs. They have flat foreheads, hair of soft and woolly character, noses short but not flat, mouths wide, lips thick, eyes large and bent upward in an angle like those of the Mongols, cheek-bones high, and beards thin. Strains of Greek, Nubian, and Abyssinian blood flow in their veins. Mainly of the sect called Jacobite, Eutychian, Monophysite, and Monothelite, they are very bigoted and hate all other Christians. Sullen, avaricious, deceitful, ignorant, and faithless, they are still among the best clerks, government officials, merchants, and artisans of the country. They speak Arabic; the Coptic language being practically dead.

The countries above Egypt are inhabited by two tribes of people resembling each other in physical character, but of distinct language and origin. One is probably aboriginal, the other foreign. Dr. Prichard terms them Eastern Nubians, or Nubians of the Red Sea, and Nubians of the Nile, or Berberines. All are of red-brown complexion, approaching black, but different from the ebony hue of the Eastern Negroes. The hair is frizzled and thick, yet not as woolly as that of the Guinea Negroes. The Eastern Nubians inhabit the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, and are nomads. The northern division is denominated Ababdeh, who extend northward in the eastern division to Kosseir. On the parallel of Deir they border on the Bishareens. Thence the Bishareens extend to the confines of Abyssinia. The latter are extremely savage and inhospitable, mostly nomadic, and subsist on milk and flesh, sometimes drinking the warm blood of living animals. Their form is handsome, features beautiful, eyes fine and expressive, and complexion dark-brown or chocolate color.

The Nubians of the Nile, Berberines, or Barábra, resort to Egypt as laborers, inhabit the valleys of the Nile from the southern limit of Egypt to Sennaar, and are distinct from the Arabs, and all the surrounding nations. Addicted to agriculture, arboriculture, and irrigation; honest in business relations, and sincere professors of Islam, they hold the high esteem of the Egyptians. The Barábra are divided into three sections by dialect; namely, the Nouba, the Kenous, and the Dongolawi.

Dr. Prichard regards them as an offset from the original stock which first peopled Egypt and Nubia.

West of Nubia, beyond and extending into the Libyan Desert, are the Tibbus, who spread over the eastern portions of the Sahara as far as Fezzan and Lake T'sad, the "locality of ancient Libyans or Libyes." Dr. Latham considers their language as probably belonging to the Nubian class. Their color is not uniform. In some it is black, in others copper-colored.* Slim and well-made; their cheek-bones high; noses flat in many, aquiline in others; mouth large; teeth fine; lips often European; eyes expressive, and hair curled, but not woolly. The females are of light and elegant form, and walk in strikingly erect manner.

The Tibbus, called *Tebu* by Dr. Barth—every traveler in Africa having his own particular orthography of its proper names—are chiefly pastoral, keeping horses, sheep, and goats; but camels constitute the principal riches. Dr. Nachtigal describes the Tibbus of Tibesti as of model stature, well-made, elegant and muscular. Color is of all shades between clear bronze and black. The greater number are of dark bronze hue, but have not the slightest trace of Negro physiognomy. Their commerce consists largely of slaves, and is carried on between the Soodan, Fezzan, and Tripoli.

"All that is not Arabic in the kingdom of Morocco," says Dr. Latham, "all that is not Arabic in the French provinces of Algeria, and all that is not Arabic in Tunis, Tripoli, and Fezzan, is Berber." The language of the whole Mediterranean sea-coast between Tripoli and Egypt, and the language of the Sahara, is Berber. "As a general rule," the same writer adds, "the Arabic is the language for the whole of the sea-coast from the Delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Straits of Gibraltar to the north of the Senegal." The more than twenty different Berber tribes of the Atlas ranges are at perpetual feud with each other; are poor, hardy, and accustomed to privations and hardships. The Shuluh are chiefly hunters, but also cultivate the ground. The Kabyles of Algeria and Tunis are industrious farmers and miners, of middle stature, of brown, and sometimes nearly black, complexion. The Tawarek are spread in various tribes over the

* Barth, "Discoveries in North and Central Africa."

greater portion of the Sahara, and are particularly described in the appendixes to the monumental work of Dr. Barth. Very different in point of moral character, they are all fine men—tall, straight, and handsome—physically considered. Abstemious and adventurous, they clothe themselves from head to foot, and cover the face up to the eyes with a black or colored handkerchief.

The Moors of Morocco and the Mediterranean coast are a mixed race, the primitive element being the Mauritanian. Next the Arab blood was infused. After the conquest of Spain they intermarried with the natives of that country, whence they were driven out after holding it for seven centuries. They resemble Europeans and western Asiatics more than Arabs or Berbers. Their language is the Mogrebin dialect of the Arabs. Intellectual, and not wholly unlettered, they are cruel, revengeful, and bloodthirsty. The elegant and graceful chivalry of their ancestors in Spain is not among their attributes. They have been the worst pirates on the Mediterranean, and still show traces of the old habits. In religion they are Mohammedan, in diet temperate, in dress simple, excepting the richer classes. Most are merchants, mechanics, or agriculturists, but there are also many wandering tribes. As artisans, and especially in the manufacture of swords, saddlery, and metallic ornaments, they are very skillful.

Tribes of true Arabic descent are scattered about from the highlands of Abyssinia over Nubia and Egypt, and westward over the central provinces of Waday, Bornoo, Kordofan, and Darfur. Others wander through the Libyan and Saharan Deserts, in the territories of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, and are a totally distinct race from the Kabyles. Adventurers of Arabic origin have subdued native tribes of every nationality, and ruled them as sovereign lords. The differences of color and features observable among the Afric-Arabians are largely due to intermarriage with neighbors.

Jews are numerous in all the towns of North Africa, and are the principal merchants and brokers. Wealthy and vain, they are compelled to hide their riches from the cupidity of native rulers. The Jewesses of Morocco and Algiers are remarkable for personal beauty. The Turks are simply encamped in Africa, and scarcely deserve to be named among the African peoples.

The Abyssinians, as we have already seen, are of mixed blood. Their Christianity is of very superstitious and degraded type, and is gradually succumbing to the pressure of the Mohammedan religion. In morals they are equally fallen. Of copper hue, and with beautifully clear yet languishing eyes, black and crisp, yet not woolly, hair, they are altogether different from the Negroes.

The Negroes are only portions of the numerous offshoots of the Ethiopic stock; "but, between the receding forehead, the projecting cheek-bones, the thick lips, of the Negro of Guinea, and the more straight configuration of the head of a Galla in Abyssinia, there are still many striking analogies; and modern philology having traced still greater analogies, denoting a common origin among the only apparently disconnected languages of so many thousands of tribes, whose color presents all the hues between the deepest black and the yellow-brown, it is no longer doubtful that the Negro, the Galla, the Somali, and the Caffre all belong to the same ethnological stock." *

A remarkable race of wild nomadic hunters, possibly of Abyssinian extraction, occupies the high plateau which rises between the coast land and the Victoria Nyanza. They bear the appellation of *Wamasai*, *Wakwari*, etc., and are the terror of the more settled inhabitants of the adjacent countries. The Gallas, who roam over an immense tract in Eastern Africa, south of Abyssinia, hold a middle position—in respect of physical conformation—between the Guinea Negro and the Arab and Berber. The face is rounder than that of the Arab, and the nose almost as straight; while the hair, though strongly frizzled, is not as woolly as that of the Negro, nor are the lips so thick. Large of size and of great strength, their color varies between black and deep brown. Some of the women are—for Gallas—remarkably fair. The Somali, originally Arabs, occupy part of the Galla country, and, for the most part, lead a wandering, pastoral life.

Such are the ethnical characters of North and Central Africa, which comprise from seventy-five to a hundred millions of inhabitants. That they are now undergoing further modifications, whose processes will probably be more rapid in the near future, is obvious to those who watch the eventful drama now

* "Encyclopedia Britannica." Ninth edition. 1875.

enacting in the valley of the Nile. The eyes of Christendom rest upon the heroic soldier, and no less heroic Christian, General Gordon, whose personal presence and influence were thought almost, if not quite, sufficient to quell the serious disturbances in the Egyptian Soodan. When appointed by the Khedive governor of Soodan, in addition to the province of the equator and the littoral of the Red Sea, with absolute financial authority, he wrote, under date of February 17, 1877: "It will be my fault if slavery does not cease, and if these vast regions are not open to the world. So there is an end of slavery, if God will; for the whole secret of the matter is in the government of the Soodan, and if the man who holds that government is against it, it must cease."

The Khedive wrote to Gordon subsequently, saying: "Use all the powers I have given you; take every step you think necessary; punish, change, dismiss all officials as you please." Gordon's firman was read to a crowd at Khartoum, the capital of his government. Missionaries and merchants, priests and ulemas, consuls, cadis, and fellaheen, all crowded to see him. "But," said an eye-witness, "it is, above all, the poor country people who look upon him as their saviour."

His hopes were not realized. Islam, cupidity, and ingrained habit thwarted his benign purpose. He checked, but did not end, the slave-trade. During three weeks of April, 1880, five convoys of slaves arrived in Egypt from Kordofan, Sennaar, and Darfur. On the 20th more than 900 slaves openly entered Siout—300 miles from Cairo.

Prior to this, on the 8th of August, 1879, Ismael, Khedive of Egypt, was deposed and replaced by his son Mohammed Tewfik. Events followed each other with startling rapidity. In 1882, the British subdued the revolt of Arabi Pasha. Another revolt broke out simultaneously in the remote provinces of the Soodan, where the inhabitants grievously suffered from the confiscations, oppressive taxes, cruelty, and still more from the corrupt officials and farmers of taxes of the Egyptians. The rebels are Negroes, with an occasional infusion of Arab blood. These dark races are fanatical Moslems, brave and hardy, and were the best soldiers in the Egyptian army. Mohammed Achmet, born in Dongola, west of the Nile, a boat-builder by trade, proclaimed himself to be El Mahdi, the

expected successor of the Great Prophet, and the deliverer of the people. The superstitious and oppressed flocked to his standard. So did the Baggara Arabs, the former slave-hunters of the White Nile. Victor in successive encounters with the Egyptians, he marched upon Sennaar, after his triumph near Kordofan, and for several months was sole master of the Soodan.

The Soodanese have shown themselves to be no contemptible antagonists. At Abu Harras, on the right bank of the Blue Nile, where Mohammed Taha, who styled himself the vizier of the Mahdi, was defeated by Geigler Pasha,

the leader of the insurgents came out to meet them [the Egyptians] surrounded by hundreds of praying dervishes, and followed by his warriors and all the women and children. The fanatics allowed themselves to be decimated without faltering, until the scherif, whose seemingly charmed life inspired the soldiers with superstitious fear, was at last struck by a bullet. Then they scattered, pursued by the savage soldiery, who spared none.

Sennaar was recovered, but in Kordofan El Mahdi was victorious. When El Obeid surrendered to him, Iskander Bey, the commandant, and the larger portion of the garrison, accepted service under his banner. Three hundred and thirty-eight thousand warriors now followed his standard. From Kordofan he advanced with 300,000 Soodanese, to meet the Egyptian army, under Hicks Pasha, and inflicted an annihilating defeat. All the camels, stores, and munitions, with thirty-six Nordenfeldt, Krupp, and mountain guns, fell into his hands. Colonel Coetlogen, who was almost the only surviving European in the Soodan, and next in command, collected the scattered remnants of the Egyptian forces at Khartoum and other important posts.

Sennaar now declared for El Mahdi. The Bedouins of the coast joined the rebellion, and the whole Soodan became involved, with the exception of the fortified trading-posts. The movement threatened to extend to the Arabs of Asia, and to break the power of the Sultan of Turkey. Thence it might pass into India, inflame the passions of the Moslems there, and cause a repetition of all the horrors of the Sepoy mutiny. Great Britain was obliged to take Egyptian affairs into her own hands. British interests in the Delta and in the Suez Canal were violently menaced. The interposition of Turkey could not be admitted, nor could the Egyptians be left to "stew in

their own juice," as it was phrased. The Khedive was compelled to submit to the humiliating measures proposed by Great Britain; and to secure the alliance of the King of Abyssinia by consenting to the cession of the port of Massowah, and the abandonment of a great part of the Soodan, drawing the new frontier on a line from Suakin through Berber to Khartoum. In the winter of 1883-84, Osman Digna, the leader of the slave-dealing coast Arabs, acting independently, and yet in relation to El Mahdi, inflicted crushing defeats on the Egyptians on the east coast. Suakin was the only remaining post that could offer effective resistance. Belief in the irresistible destiny of El Mahdi paralyzed the courage of the troops, and convinced both foreign and native officers of the futility of any further attempts on their part to check his progress. The brilliant exploits of the British troops in the same region have since humbled the pride of Osman Digna, and done much toward the probable ultimate success of the British expedition, by way of the Nile, against El Mahdi.

Britain has a providential commission to execute there. Her sublime mission is to abolish slavery, establish beneficent commercial relations, and introduce that Christianity which will take up the work of ethnically-unifying Islam, and cause the unity in diversity of the human race to be apparent under conditions of truth, justice, and love.

The African race has attained its present civilization through the white race, notably from the Arabs. In order to raise itself to a higher civilization, it has need of a new initiation. To the white race, consequently, belongs the initiative in the development of the common civilization.*

The grand purposes of the Almighty march on to their ultimate accomplishment. Christian civilization is bent upon the redemption of the "Dark Continent." Faith working by love is the golden line to be stretched across that boiling caldron of warring races—a line around which the different divisions shall crystallize—in distinction and yet in unity, in difference and yet at peace.

* M. d'Eichthal, "Bulletin de la Société Ethnologique de Paris, 1847."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

READING THE HYMNS.

SEVERAL weeks since two successive numbers of "The Independent" contained each a contributed article devoted to the reading of hymns, as a part of the exercises of public worship. First, Professor Townsend, of the Boston School of Theology, recognizing the especially infelicitous style in which this part of the service is often rendered, proceeded to point out, somewhat "professionally," how it should be done. Some of his suggestions are unquestionably good; but our observation of readings in poetry, and especially of hymns, by professional elocutionists, has not increased our confidence in the prospect of any considerable relief from this confessed evil by any of the ordinary rules of the rhetoricians. As with artistic music, so with artistic readings, both are but ill adapted to the requirements of public worship. The second paper is by Professor Harris, of Andover Seminary, who proposes to obviate the whole difficulty by entirely omitting that part of the service, which may remind one of the quack doctor's method for curing his patient—let him die, and that will make an end of the disease. The reasons urged for this are in the form of facts, which in nearly every case belong to the category of false facts. "It retards the progress of the service," he tells us; which, however, cannot be the case, if it is itself a part of the service, as it should be, and (as it is capable of being made) an important and especially interesting part. This assumption, that reading the hymn is not properly a legitimate part of the service, runs through all the plea for its disuse, and the whole objection falls if that assumption is set aside.

It is conceded that our non-liturgical worship is liable to suffer from want of attention to the æsthetical element, which is so intimately related to public worship; and but for which Church music of any kind would be out of place. The public reading of the Scriptures needs no defense; and though the lesson may be an entirely familiar one, its reading is not for that reason any the less acceptable or profitable. The sermon itself may present nothing really new, but be simply made up of "the old, old story," so often told in our hearing, and with which we have been familiar from our childhood. One might, at less expense of time and labor, read quite as good sermons at home—if wisely selected, much better ones than the average of pulpit discourses—and yet we do not plead for no sermon from the pulpit. The services of the house of God are not to be tried by the rules of either the concert or the lecture; they have other and higher purposes, and their exercises are to be directed by other rules. And these, properly understood and reduced to practice, will much more

than simply justify the reading from the pulpit of the hymns that are to be used by the choir or the congregation, as the case may be. In passing, it may be observed that the hymns, as to their sense and meaning, can be heard in the church only as they are read; for, unless helped by the book, the worshipers in most cases will be as ignorant of the words of the hymn ostensibly being sung as they would be if the language used were Italian or Choctaw. And as between private reading, whether at home or in the pew, and the public presentation, either "said or sung," the preference must be conceded to the latter, if at all well rendered. So in the lack of intelligible articulation in the singing, the reading of the hymns is all that the congregation can have of these "aids to devotion."

In non-liturgical worship, the hymns chiefly supply the place of the ritual; the "hymnal" holds the place of the prayer-book or the breviary. Every argument that can be offered in favor of "common prayer" applies with larger emphasis to congregational singing; and yet, in the peculiar condition of musical education among us, that style of worship has become very nearly impossible. We have been educated beyond the inartistic melodies of the past age, when quantity of voice compensated for any deficiency of correct musical rendering; but yet we remain, scarcely less than were our fathers, without musical training as to both performance and appreciation; and our choirs, away in the organ-lofts, seem to regard it as no part of their business to cause the silent occupants of the pews to recognize any thing but the mingling of sweet, but inarticulated, sounds. The rationale of placing the music at the farthest possible remove from the congregation, and in the most complete isolation, is among the unexplained mysteries which fail to excite surprise simply because we have become familiar with them. Sympathy, at such long range, is not easily awakened, and to average church-goers, that part of the service is something as to which they feel themselves to be spectators rather than participants. In nearly all American churches fashionable music is, by the mass of attendants, endured rather than enjoyed; and those who have come with a sincere desire to worship and be edified, must wait in exemplary patience for the "performance" to end, and something appreciable to take its place. So far as instruction and stirring up the mind to spiritual thoughts and aspirations is the object to be sought for in public worship, about the only available good to be derived from the hymns must come from their being heard from the pulpit rather than from the organ-loft.

The old-style method of "lining the hymns," now quite antiquated, was not without its advantages. Words and sentences uttered by the living voice are vastly more effective than when simply presented to the thought through the eye; and then the retention of the words and forms of speech in the memory, that they might be sung a little later, tended to command closer attention and to fix them permanently in the memory. And there is but little room to doubt that church-going people of fifty years ago, among whom the hymns were "lined," were much more familiar with the contents of their hymn-books than are their children

and grandchildren. The Wesleyans in England still practice the time-honored usage with slight modifications. They usually first read the whole hymn through, often six six-line stanzas (they make much use of the 6-8 measures), and then they repeat it, verse by verse, as it is sung. The practice evidently improves the performance, for they are generally good readers of hymns, while with us there are very few such. A hymn properly read is also interpreted in the reading, and its chief points are emphasized and made impressive. There is all the difference in the world between the mere recitation of a few lines of poetry, and rendering the piece in such a manner that the soul of the reader shall go out with his words to the hearts of the hearers. It may be doubted whether by any other method so much of the very best forms of scriptural theology can be taught—not as dry dogmas, but as living spiritual verities—as by a judicious use of our hymns; but in order to this, the reader must himself be in sympathy with their spirit; must have rooted in his mind and heart what he reads; and must render this service not merely perfunctorily, but as an integral part of the worship of the house of the Lord.

PHILOSOPHICO-THEOLOGIZING.

It is a remarkable but a very obvious truth, that one's own failures seldom convince him that he is not still entirely competent to teach others how to succeed; and accordingly your thoroughly "played-out" genius usually assumes to speak oracularly concerning the things as to which he has most surely demonstrated his incompetency. Accordingly, Mr. O. B. Frothingham, whose name is sufficient introduction to our readers, and who has certainly proved a most conspicuous failure as a religious teacher, and at length has abandoned not only the pulpit but also the Church, seems now to expect that he will still be regarded as quite competent to dispose of all the great questions respecting the subjective phenomena of "religious experience," and therefore he asks us, in a late number of the "North American Review," to sit at his feet and learn of him.

It must not be supposed, however, that when he talks about "conversion" he uses that word as one of the cant expressions of those from whom he differs. Quite the contrary; he includes himself among the "all religious people (who) believe in a *new life* as the condition of spiritual peace and contentment, and of that tranquillity of soul in which is supreme felicity." All who are familiar with the dialect of the class of *quasi*-religionists, in which Mr. Frothingham must be reckoned—though the classification is rather loose—know very well that almost the whole vocabulary of evangelical religion has been made to do service in setting forth their "other gospel." They can talk as readily as any revivalist or mystic of "the new birth," "change of heart," "sacrifice," and "consecration;" and, indeed, of whatever is understood by evangelical believers as precisely indicative of the very things as to which they and their "liberal" antagonists are diametrically separated. But a very lit-

the attention to their utterances makes it manifest, that while the words are the same the sense is wholly different. It is not their method, however, to openly reject and antagonize that which real Christians hold to be fundamental and indispensable, but to ignore all these, and then by another form of teaching to infuse new meanings into the language used, and so to divert the whole train and substance of thinking toward new, and distinctively other, modes and tendencies. It is known that in adopting the Greek language as a vehicle for the deep spiritual truths of the Gospel, new meanings were infused into the terminology of that classical language; insomuch that a lexicon of the ancient Greek is not a proper exponent of the Greek of the New Testament. A reverse course is now pursued; and the language of the religious life is, by a process of evisceration, compelled to indicate an unspiritual naturalism. The word and its cognates, which in the New Testament is used to indicate evangelical repentance, in its classical use implies simply "consideration" and "change of proceeding," in respect to either methods or objects. Accordingly, it is now the fashion to restore to this word (and others in like manner) its old heathen import, and so reduce the repentance of the Gospel to a "reformation" of life and manners more or less thorough and far-reaching.

The great and controlling design of the so-called liberal pulpit and press of the present time is to eliminate the supernatural from religion. Just as the Scientists have been especially concerned to get rid of God in nature, so are these, above all else, solicitous that their theology shall have the least possible of God in it. And as those find in nature the "promise and potency" of all the phenomena of the material world, so these profess to be able not only to explain all the phenomena of mind without going beyond itself, but also to provide for all the wants of humanity from within itself. And so neither class has any use for God. The language of Scripture is very freely employed by these writers and preachers; but clearly not to teach what must be believed, but only for illustration and ornamentation. As one would quote words and phrases from Shakespeare or Milton in literature, or Bacon in philosophy, or Blackstone in law, so these employ the words of Scripture, for only secondary purposes. To the ingenuous reader who comes to the Bible that he may learn from it what is the truth, its teachings are scarcely capable of being misunderstood, for there are manifest in all its parts and in its totality a tone and tendency of spirit and a trend and drift of thought that cannot be mistaken; and by these the willing and believing will be almost infallibly guided into all needful truth. But if it is used only as a collection of historical illustrations, and of wise or not so wise sayings, the language of the Bible may be made the vehicle for a merely soulless naturalism. The process by which the words of Scripture are made to do service for the "liberal" theology affords a remarkable instance of what may be accomplished by unrestrained skill and ingenuity in replacing the substance of a thing by other matter without destroying its form, very much as a mass of so-called petrified wood retains its original outline, but none

of its substance. The fault of the system of thinking and believing of which Mr. Frothingham is eminently the representative, is not that its assumptions and conclusions are wrong as details of a system fundamentally correct, but that it is wholly and fundamentally wrong. Its God is not He whom the Bible reveals; its Christ is not the man of Nazareth and Calvary; its Spirit is not the divine one, but it is human; and its whole substance is not of heaven, but of the earth. It may, indeed, embody some things in themselves not unlike what may be found in the Gospel, just as similar details may be found in the most diverse specimens of natural history; but these in neither case disprove the essential distinctiveness of the two objects. In this case they are Christ and Belial. This may be seen in what are Mr. Frothingham's ideas of the nature of conversion and what are its conditions and resultant phenomena; which, though nowhere expressed in single phrases, are clearly enough seen in the course of his remarks. As it is simply a "turning," it may or may not indicate repentance in the writer's own naturalistic sense of that word, for he who has not gone astray need not turn again. Essentially, it is simply a *good education*—intellectual, æsthetical, and moral. Its only necessary conditions are opportunities and teachableness, and its results are good character and conduct, estimated according to conventional standards.

These, it will be seen, ignore and practically disallow all of the distinctive Christian characteristics of the subject. The "holiness" which, according to Scripture, is the ethical ideal of the divine character, subsisting in burning intensity, is reduced to the shadowy and uncertain, and at best unelevated, "virtue" of the Roman stoic. "Sin," the opposite pole to God's holiness in the ethical *cosmos*, appears simply as a more or less widely "missing the mark," by falling short or going beyond, or by aberrations to the right hand or the left—only an incompleteness, to be regretted rather than censured, and certainly not to be avenged. Such notions of the fundamental doctrines upon which all practical religions must be based render void, preposterous, and often odious, the distinctive doctrines of the evangelical Churches. The minified estimation of sin reduces guilt to a minimum, and so makes a deep and pungent "conviction of sin" the fancy of a disordered mind—perhaps the effect of a disordered liver. The only allowable atonement for sin is found in reformation and restitution, which become "vicarious" wherever there is a community of interests either good or bad, and in the exercise of kindly offices among men. For the Christ of the New Testament and the Church there is no place in such a system. If the historical Christ shed his blood for others than himself, so have thousands of others, perhaps quite as freely. If he died a martyr to his own teachings, so did Socrates to his; and so, in less conspicuous ways, have done untold multitudes of men and women. And because the Christ of the Gospels was at best only one of the great and good men of the world, Mr. Frothingham and those of the same way of thinking do well to refuse to specially honor him by consenting to be called Christians.

It is especially noticeable that in his crusade against the Christian doctrines, of which that of "conversion" is among the most considerable, Mr. F. found himself opposed to all parts and divisions of the Christian Church; and that by closer inspection it appears that between Catholics and Protestants the teachings of the latter are to him much the more objectionable, and among Protestants those are most astray, and most to be antagonized, who hold closely and tenaciously to the specifically evangelical doctrines. And yet he finds the nearest approach to the realization of his ideal in a "school of thought" in one of our less numerous nominal Protestant sects, "the Broad-Churchmen," whose title to this partiality may be the fact, assigned by another for a like preference, that they never trouble themselves about *politics* or *religion*. They "welcome every kind of culture;" are "indifferent to the current topics of theology;" and their "conception of Christ" is altogether "spiritual," so making him only a spiritual man in their own low sense of spirituality. It is, however, a real and valuable service rendered to the truth when the irreconcilable difference between the doctrines of the Gospel and those of rationalistic naturalism are thus clearly set forth in their essential antagonism.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF CONVERSION."

The startling announcement made by the young Prophet of Galilee to the learned Jewish ruler, that in order to be found within the kingdom of grace a man must be "born again," elicited from the great man an expression of wonder and perplexity which took form in the question, "How can these things be?" From that time onward that question has continued to be asked, but it has never been answered. The fact that such a work is necessary is conceded by very many, including not a few of those with whom that young Galilean has not been accepted as a competent instructor; and though some have made tentative but abortive attempts toward the detection of its impulsive force, and of its processes, the more rationally thoughtful have conceded its practical insolubility.

In an article in the October number of the "North American Review," whose title stands at the head of this paper, Mr. O. B. Frothingham discusses this subject with characteristic acumen and force; but he reaches results that can be satisfactory to very few of his readers. Incidentally, however, some notable concessions are made, with some of which we are now chiefly concerned. Respecting the inconceivableness of the processes of a fundamental moral transformation he remarks, with a degree of force and clearness that may be commended to some dogmatizing philosophical theologians who profess to be able to solve all mysteries, but who so flatter themselves only because of the superficialness of their views:

Nothing is more incomprehensible than the moral process of reformation. To change one's mind permanently and resolutely; to take a new view of human

nature and human life, of providence and duty, of the world of causes and effects; to turn about and face in the opposite direction—is an altogether unaccountable thing.

This is strong language; and yet it is noticeably in agreement with what we read in the Bible—as when the prophet likens the perversity of the heart, in its unchangeableness, to the leopard's spots and the Ethiopian's skin, or when Joshua says to Israel, 'Ye cannot serve the Lord,' or when Paul recognizes the invincibleness of the law of sin "in his members," effectually constraining him to do "the evil that he would not." Our Lord, in reply to the doubting query of Nicodemus, makes no attempt to solve this mystery, but concedes its inexplicability, while he reaffirms the fact itself. Like the phenomena of the wind, which are certain but inexplicable, so are the processes of regeneration. The claim which some make in favor of the sufficiency of the human will to effectuate such a change is simply nonsense of the most arrant kind; very much as if one should pretend to be able to lift himself by his boot-straps.

Any fundamental and essential change of moral character, in either direction, can be effected only by a power operating upon the subject *ab extra*—from beyond himself. As the stream cannot rise above its fountain-head, so the forces by which the established substratum of the moral character shall be removed and replaced must originate in a source beyond and above the subject of which such a moral nature is a predicate. Even Pelagianism did not assert the possibility of self-conversion; for, by disallowing that the human heart is so really bad as to require any essential change, it obviated the necessity of conversion; and, therefore, if any finally fail of eternal life, their falling away occurs in themselves individually, and not as the consequence of coming short of an originally necessary spiritual transformation. The problem of conversion is only one side of the broader one which includes all and any possible fundamental changes of moral character in either direction. The beginning of moral evil—that is, *sin*, in the divine dominions—is a mystery, not only of the divine administration, but deeper still of essential possibility. Man, created in God's moral likeness, fell into sin; not by the spontaneous action of his free will, but by yielding to an impulse originating beyond himself. Nor is it possible to conceive that a moral agent, all of whose impulses are essentially good, and tend only to righteousness, could begin and prosecute and consummate a process of sinning against himself, as well as against God. And now, being alienated from God, first in character and afterward in life, to reverse the eccentric and downward course of his nature—to change its polarity and turn its gravitation Godward—is certainly beyond the soul's inherent powers. As to its originating force, therefore, the work of conversion is not only beyond the range of our philosophy, but it is directly contrary to its certain requirements. Mr. Frothingham, who represents a not inconsiderable school of thought, even after granting the inexplicability of the beginning of the process, assumes to teach what must be its rationale, in doing which he most inconsistently reduces the whole matter to a system of naturalism.

His references to the methods and practices of religious teachers of various schools to promote conversions, which are in some things pertinent and judicious but usually quite otherwise, have no bearing upon the subject covered by the title chosen by himself for his discussion; which is not about the methods used to bring about that work, but the nature of the work itself. Respecting this process the following excerpt, presenting Coleridge's doctrine of "The Redemption of the Will," may not be out of place. (See "Methodist Quarterly Review," April, 1853.)

We are thus brought to the consideration of the conversion and regeneration of the will; its emancipation from the thralldom of original sin by the destruction or removal of that principle or power from the soul. If indeed the deprivation of the will is complete, such a restoration can be effected only by a power operating from beyond its own being. This, in theological language, would be a redemption by free grace. Whether there is such a redemption provided beyond himself for man, is primarily a question lying outside of the range of philosophy. That it is a possibility, though it is not susceptible of proof, *a priori*, no one can deny. Though we are at no time conscious of the presence of such a renovating power acting upon our spiritual being, that negative fact is no argument against it, since the point of its access is beyond the range of self-consciousness.

Here again Coleridge shall speak for himself:

If any reflecting mind be surprised that the aids of the divine Spirit should be deeper than our consciousness can reach, it must arise from the not having attended sufficiently to the nature and necessary limits of human consciousness. For the same impossibility exists as to the first acts and movements of our own will—the furthest distance our recollection can follow back, the traces never lead us to the first foot-marks; the lowest depth that the light of consciousness can visit, even with a doubtful glimmering, is still at an unknown distance from the ground.—*Works*, vol. i, pp. 153, 154. (American Edition.)

But although the efficient cause of the conversion of the soul is beyond the range of philosophical inquiry, there is nothing in the supposition of a divine agency in that work to conflict with reason. The divine Spirit operates in secret, but the effects are manifest; and as in all other manifestations of the divine power, in nature no less than in grace, these things become assured to us by their phenomenal results. We know nothing of the secret causes of any thing, but only the facts, and in this the mysteries of the spiritual *cosmos* are no greater than those of the material.

If through its own lack of spiritual power the soul has become enslaved to the depraved elements of the personal character, the power even to will what is good must come from an extraneous source. For this lack the scheme revealed in the Gospel makes provision by postulating the presence and efficiency of the aids of the Spirit, emancipating the will, and inclining it to choose the better part. And herein is seen the basis of personal responsibility in the case; and when the force of the will is united to those of the divine Spirit, the work of conversion is then and there effectuated, and the sinner, delivered from his own carnality, becomes through grace "a new creature." All the efficiency is divine, and yet it is conditioned on the will of the subject; and whenever these concur conversion ensues, at once and completely. "If any man be in Christ, he is [now, at once] a new creature" (*καὶνὴ κτίσις*.)

RIGHT AND WRONG USES OF THE BIBLE.

A very suggestive paper appeared not very long ago in "The Christian Advocate" (New York), written by one of our younger ministers, entitled "The Microscopic Study of the Bible." Though shut up to the narrow limits of a newspaper article, the writer successfully points out some of the obvious infelicities of certain largely practiced and much-praised methods of studying the Bible. His aim is to show that minute criticism of the words and phrases employed is unfavorable to the adequate understanding of a discourse or any writing, and therefore that in that direction the kind of criticism which he described by the epithet "microscopic" is unfavorable to right interpretation; a position which he fortifies with abundant proofs and illustrations.

The fault aimed at is found chiefly among pretenders—purposed or otherwise—to superior skill in biblical interpretation. There are many such, who are nothing if they are not critical; whose lack of thorough learning unfits them for what they attempt, or who, if sufficiently learned in certain minor points, having attended only to the verbal forms of Scripture, have failed to appreciate its teachings in their aggregate completeness. The whole process is one of dissection, and the examination of the dissected parts, by tracing the etymology of words, and drawing out the rhetorical contents of phrases and sentences; a process which some one compares to that of an anatomist who should hold up an excavated eye-ball as an illustration of the beauty of the human face. In opposition to this method it may be said that words and sentences, wrought into discourses, are not simply isolated signs of ideas, but constituent elements of a composite thought, and therefore the whole taken together must determine their specific sense in each particular case. Too much attention to minor details—to single words and individual sentences—may operate adversely to the proper understanding of the scope and purpose of the discourse as a whole.

The misleading tendency of this form of criticism is so manifest that it needs no demonstration. It is well known, however, that it has been extensively employed in the interpretation of the Bible, and its destructive results have been ostentatiously proclaimed; and it has also been successfully combated, and its power to do harm has been largely neutralized. But the evil deprecated appears also in a modified form among the uneducated. The use of the Bible "in the vulgar tongue," by the common people, with the accompanying right of private judgment, all of which must be accepted and approved as of the very essence of Protestantism, is not without its possible dangers. The Anabaptists and the "Fifth Monarchy" men were great Bible readers; but coming to the Bible with strong but unintelligent preconceptions, they of course found abundant proofs to sustain the opinions they brought with them. The same thing was seen in the Adventist (Millerite) excitement of forty years ago, and the Premillenarians of the present day, though more sober,

and some of them better learned, are their lineal descendants. The sincerity of all these classes of persons need not be called in question, for their mistakes, however disastrous, were the logical results of their faulty method of using the Bible. And the same remark will apply to nearly all specifically sectarian opinions, even those of the Shakers and the Mormons, who also pretend to be guided by the Bible.

The saying of the mother of Adam Bede, in her discussion with her "Methody" son, Seth, that "You Methodies have a wonderful way of getting more out of a text than there is in it," no doubt contains a just criticism, which is capable of a much wider application. The fashion of "improving" the text for religious uses, by which the language is sometimes clearly perverted, and at other times strange and alien meanings are forced into the words and images, belongs to the same wrong method. And of this there are many examples in high places. The headings affixed to the several Psalms and the chapters of our English Bible are usually forced constructions appearing with a false pretense to authority; and yet the Bible Society prints them as part of "the Holy Scripture without note or comment." The use of reference texts is another case in point, for these, though perhaps not wholly without value, are certainly only human interpretations, and as such not always the most felicitous. The proof texts found in some famous catechisms and confessions present another example of the inapt and mistaken use of the words of Scripture, many of them being entirely irrelevant as proofs, and others having no likeness to those with which they are collated except in the English words, the same one being used for wholly different ones in the original. It has been well said that the terms and phrases of the English Bible have become, by reason of their unintelligent use, *asphyxiated*, so as to mean nothing, or *depolarized*, and transformed into new and strange senses.

The Bible, though *one*, is also many; and its lessons, though found in all its parts, are nowhere presented as a formulated system. Its unity is found in the one spirit that pervades it in its entirety. Its truths and doctrines are to be learned, not so much from direct and specific statements, as from the drift of its expressions and the trend of its ideas; and these are so certain and manifest that any ordinarily-intelligent reader, using no tongue but his own vernacular, and having only an approximately correct version of the sacred original Scriptures, will scarcely ever fail to be guided to the apprehension of all needful truth—enough to show him his duties and to confirm his faith and hope. It is a mistake, therefore, to use the Bible as one would use a catechism or a confession of faith, or even as a theological treatise. It indeed "contains sufficiently all doctrines required of necessity for eternal salvation;" but its teachings are nowhere formulated, nor set forth in definite articles to be believed. It presents no systematic statements of the "Economy of the Covenants;" it not, in the precise sense, a "Body of Divinity;" has no "Philosophy of the Plan of Redemption," nor "Theory of the Atonement;" and it affords very little material out of which the most fruitful fancy can construct a

"Physical Theory of the Future Life." But it tells of God and Christ; and to the soul illuminated by the promised Comforter it reveals the reality of sin and salvation, and eternal life after death. And these things, though hidden from "the wise and prudent,"—that is, the verbal critics,—are revealed to "babes," who seek for them in the written word with simple faith. To find out all saving truth we need neither the microscope nor the telescope, but only faith in God and common sense.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

An election for the chief magistrate of the nation has been held, and the result duly ascertained. The event largely engrossed the public attention of the country during the latter half of the closing year, and a spectacle was presented which to some minds appeared as the sublime movement of ten millions of free citizens recording their preferences, and then calmly accepting the public verdict and loyally rallying to the support of the elect of the nation. To others it appeared as the quadrennial spasm of the politicians, contending for power and spoils by means and methods quite the opposite of honorable and edifying. Both of these views are probably correct in part; and, because we like to believe what is pleasant, we accept the former as the more truthful rendering of the case; not denying, however, that if the latter were equally acceptable the evidence of its correctness would be sufficient.

The most remarkable fact in the late election was, that both of the great parties went into the canvass without any well-defined political issues; and so the contest was clearly less for administrative measures and principles than for men and for parties—which, in the absence of great principles, are simply factions. The politics of the country seem to be greatly disordered and mixed, with an almost entire lack of definite ideas of statesmanship, practical or speculative; and the evident attitude of both the parties toward nearly all the issues of the times which command the attention and awaken the zeal of earnest men has brought the best and the most thoughtful classes of the people into great perplexities. There is, indeed, no lack of living issues before the American people, but all these have been carefully ignored by the parties, or so referred to as to be entirely unsatisfactory. The result of all this is, that a large contingent, made up of the very best class of citizens, have found themselves "outside of politics," some not voting at all, and others doing so with strong mental protests.

Tried by their antecedents and historical records, the two parties are very clearly distinguished each from the other, and men of the class referred to have heretofore had no difficulty in choosing between them. But the citizen's obligations cannot be relegated to a party, nor can the past record, instead of the present status, of a party command the confidence of intelligent and patriotic citizens. The policy and measures to

promote which the Republican party was called into existence have passed into history, either by their successful accomplishment or by changes in public affairs which render them no longer open questions. But other matters have come to the front, in respect to which the representatives of that party, speaking through their conventions or by the press, are either entirely silent or painfully indefinite, or possibly on the wrong side. Evidently the Republican party of to-day is not the same, in either character or purpose, with that of thirty years ago, and therefore the reasons that impelled men to give it their support at the beginning no longer exist. And as a controlling portion of that party as it was during the years of its ascendancy adhered to it, and gave it their support only because they approved its policy and measures, now that these no longer distinguish it their interest in it has ceased. That party had made, indeed, a highly honorable history so long as it pursued its original designs; but that course terminated eight years ago, since which date it has made another and a very different record.

Its Southern policy ceased to be pursued at the accession of President Hayes, who, having been elected by the help of the votes of South Carolina and Louisiana, allowed the governors of those States, chosen at the same election and by larger majorities than his own, to be excluded from their places by manifest fraud and violence. During the subsequent eight years that party has had the presidency, and most of the time one or both of the houses of Congress; and what is the record that has been made? Probably during no other equal term of years in the whole history of the country has there been so much of the very worst kind of legislation by Congress, every part of which the party could and should have prevented. The reader will readily think of the silver coinage law, which was enacted for purely fraudulent purposes, and passed over the president's veto by two thirds of both houses. The anti-Chinese law, which we need not characterize, belongs to the same category; and so, too, does the river and harbor "steal," and the succession of "land grabs;" none of which could have become laws without the votes of Republicans, and against none of which has that party, as such, openly protested. It is not strange, then, that the citizen whose party ties are not stronger than his love of the right should, with some degree of disgust and righteous indignation, separate himself from such an association, and refuse to sustain it by his vote.

But where shall he go? and with whom shall he vote? There can be but two principal political parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs; and therefore the overthrow of one of these must be by the exaltation of the other and its installation in power. As things stood at the late election the defeat of the Republicans was equivalent to the success of the Democrats. And what is there in either the history or the declared purposes of that party to entitle it to the confidence, and to win for it the support, of virtuous and patriotic citizens? Thoughtful men have learned to expect that in any issue involving moral elements it will be on the wrong side. To rehearse its

history, extending over the life-time of the generation now living, would be to convict it of almost every possible form of political wrong. It championed the cause of slavery, and labored for its perpetuation and its virtual extension over the whole country; and when it had nursed treason into active war against the national life, it stood by the side of the government, like Satan at the right hand of the high-priest, to resist, and if possible to defeat, its efforts to preserve the nation's life. The existence of the nation in the form given to it by the fathers of '76 and '88, is in spite of the utmost efforts of the Democratic party during the country's greatest perils. Nor has there been any sign that time has wrought in it any change for the better. The alliterative indictment recently uttered against it by implication—very inopportunately, perhaps, because, as is often the case with the words of the "*enfant terrible*," it was eminently true—that it is the patron of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," is undeniably just, and, as matters stand, the nation's choice is between these things and their opposites.

It is manifest, however, that the Republican party has ceased to command the confidence of a large class of its former supporters, without whose support it cannot hope to succeed, and for the want of their votes it has now suffered defeat. The rights of colored citizens in the South are no doubt systematically and grossly violated, but neither party proposed any redress; why, then, should either be preferred? The public mind is becoming sensitively alive to the abominations of the liquor traffic; but neither party has responded to the public demand for its suppression. The intelligence and conscience of the nation recognize the bad faith and the fundamental iniquity of the anti-Chinese legislation of Congress, which both parties approve; and while the currency of the country—now the best in the world—is menaced with the danger of a depreciation of one sixth in real value, with the utter derangement of the finances of the country, it is not forgotten that that peril is the joint product of both the parties. It is no doubt true that the *personnel* of the Republican party is better than that of the Democratic; it is, however, about equally evident that the less scrupulous and conscientious portion of that party has for a series of years had the ascendancy in its counsels. Good men have become tired of voting for men whom they know to be corrupt, and of sustaining bad measures, lest by failing to do so worse men and measures might prevail. Wisely or otherwise they are practically saying that, if iniquity is to prevail, they are not solicitous to have the selection of its agents.

There never was a time in our history when the affairs of the nation called more loudly than just now for intelligent and patriotic statesmanship, but the call is practically disregarded by both parties. To say nothing respecting the opposite theories of free trade and protection, it is conceded on both sides that a readjustment of the tariff, and a reduction of taxation, are highly desirable. But high duties are demanded by the great manufacturing companies, for whose benefit the whole body of the people are compelled to make contributions in the form of unnecessarily

high prices for nearly all kinds of fabrics. Because a plethoric treasury is a "bonanza" for all who live by public plunder, therefore high duties are, for them, a necessity. The internal revenue, as the laws now stand, is derived almost wholly from taxes on whisky and tobacco; and because the money is not needed, it is demanded that these taxes shall be reduced, and so a high tariff is called for that whisky may be free.

Our system of national highways, now owned and managed by individuals, or private and irresponsible corporations, whose resources of wealth and power enable them to both corrupt and defy the government, and which are freely and flagrantly used for both these purposes, calls loudly for heroic treatment, to undertake which neither party seems disposed. The telegraphic system, which has become the rival of the Post-Office Department, is scarcely at all amenable to law, and the interests of the whole people, in what has become a general necessity, are almost entirely without protection. The relations of labor and capital, in which are involved some of the highest and most delicate interests, and also the greatest perils of the nation, appear to be uncared for by our statesmen and parties; and society is left to drift onward toward manifest disasters and ruin. The educational system of the country, especially in respect to primary education, is becoming year by year less adequate to the demands made upon it by the wants of the people. Illiteracy is rapidly increasing, and the proportion of wholly uneducated citizens—voters, jurymen, and possible public officers, is growing steadily larger,—but our parties, politicians, and statesmen seem to be almost entirely oblivious to the whole affair; and while the ship of state is nearing the cataract the mariners are contending for the spoils. It has been often asserted, and with at least partial truthfulness, that the issues upon which the Republican party was founded have ceased to be living questions; and since that party has not adapted itself to the new condition of the country, and because the Democratic party has always shown itself incapable of grappling with any of the great problems of the government, the intelligent and patriotic citizens of the commonwealth find themselves without a party. But such disintegrations have occurred at other times, to be followed by new and better combinations than the defunct ones had become, because they looked only to the past, and failed to adjust themselves to the requirements of the present and the surely coming events of the future. The party that now becomes the "opposition" has before it the alternatives of readjustment and new adaptations to the demands of the times, or disintegration after the manner of its illustrious predecessor, the great Whig party. Which?

PRIVATE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC LIFE.

The contestants in the late political canvass dealt very freely with the private lives and characters of the chief candidates for the presidency. This gave to it an unpleasant aspect, from which many persons turned away with disgust; but it also involved considerations which may not be

disregarded because they suggest distasteful thoughts. To refuse to recognize the vices which are known to be corrupting society indicates the decay of the moral tone, and is to sacrifice virtue through a false and superficial delicacy. Vice detected, and openly called by its right name, is robbed of half its corrupting power.

When, in June last, the convention of the Republican party nominated its candidate for the presidency, the announcement was received with marked disfavor by a not inconsiderable portion of those who had hitherto acted and voted with that party. They objected to the nomination because they held that it had been made at the behest of the worst elements of the party, and because it was believed that the candidate was himself of the same class of politicians; and that for him good and unexceptionable men had been put aside. There were also honest fears that Mr. Blaine's foreign policy, as developed while he was Secretary of State in Mr. Garfield's cabinet, might, should he be made President, lead to dangerous foreign complications. Accordingly, a partially organized body of citizens, in New York and Boston, known as "Independent Republicans," professing much regard for moral considerations in politics, declined to respond to the nomination; and when, a little later, Governor Cleveland, of New York, was nominated by the Democratic party, these men with great unanimity became his supporters, being represented and sustained by some of the principal Republican papers of this city, both secular and religious. It seemed then that the Democratic candidate would be carried into the presidency upon a tidal wave, somewhat as two years before he had been made governor of the State.

Of the candidate himself very little was known. He was a young lawyer of Buffalo, who had been elected to the mayoralty of that city, and, it was said, had discharged the duties of his office with average fidelity, and had been nominated for the governorship by his party as a *new* man, and was carried into that office by an exceptionally large majority, because of a bitter factional feud in the other party. He was now brought forward for the presidency as an available candidate, rather than out of respect to any special personal fitness. It was tacitly assumed that his private character was of average acceptability; and that if he was not a great man, he would not be the first of that mental stature who had filled, if not graced, the high position for which he was named: and from such considerations not a few persons—of whom this writer was one—purposed to vote for him. So matters stood for a few weeks after the nomination, and then it began to be muttered that the Democratic candidate for the first office in the nation was a man of conspicuously and flagrantly corrupt private life and character, and the evidence elicited placed that fact beyond question. Even his own partisans conceded the alleged facts, which were of the worst kind and fearfully damaging. And now new conditions were presented, and corresponding processes brought into use in the contest. After ascertaining the truth of the alleged complaints, the religious papers which had indorsed him, we believe without exception, abandoned the support of the Democratic candidate; but not so the

"respectable" secular papers, which, on the contrary, seemed to redouble their zeal. Most of them persistently ignored the charges respecting Mr. Cleveland's personal manner of life, and their readers, had they had no other means of information, would not have been aware that any thing to his discredit had been at all credibly alleged against him. Some of them, however, came boldly to the rescue, and, conceding the facts, excused them as peccadilloes quite too insignificant to be taken seriously into account in a political canvass. And, strangest of all, the same ground was taken by two or three distinguished clergymen, among them a bishop and a well-known pulpit celebrity. As to the mental processes by which such a conclusion was reached we have no theory, but we indignantly repudiate the vile slander that, granting all that is alleged against Mr. Cleveland, he is probably no worse than the average of men. None but a thoroughly corrupt heart could have conceived any thing so vile. The issue was, therefore, openly and distinctly made and presented to the American people, whether or not the fact that a candidate for President of the United States was a confessed libertine—the associate of lewd women and the father of a spurious progeny—should be accounted a disqualification for that high place; and in answer an effective negative has been rendered by the men of this nation. We have, therefore, a President-elect whose character and career go to teach the young men of the country that private immorality is no bar to the highest public honors; and soon the White House at Washington, the Mecca of American "society," is to reproduce in these latter days the peculiar characteristics of some, not the least infamous, of the European courts of the last century. The warnings given in the earlier chapters of the Book of Proverbs must, in view of this verdict, be understood in a "Pickwickian" sense, and the solemn objurcation of the "Preacher," telling the young man who "walks in the ways of his heart and the sight of his eyes" that for these things there will be a reckoning, must now be set aside, at least for a life-time. or the reading changed to "For all these things men will bestow upon you the highest civic and social honors." The people of this country seem to have been given over to test by an experiment of their own choosing the truth of the divine sentence which declares that "The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest of the sons of men are exalted." Considerations of statesmanship, which seem to have been very little cared for during the course of the canvass, are now rendered comparatively insignificant in the presence of such a damaging onslaught upon the purity of private life. Should not now the Young Men's Christian Associations go into liquidation, since they cannot teach moral purity without implying a censure upon the elect of the nation, and those who elected him?

The charges made against Mr. Blaine's private life, and in respect to his domestic relations, were evidently retaliatory and vindictive, and so they were very soon lost sight of. But not so in respect to certain speculative transactions in which he, as a public functionary, was accused, not without a show of probability of having used his official position, with the advantages that it afforded him, for his own emolument. It has not, indeed,

been shown that he had dealt dishonestly or directly betrayed any interest public or private, or, indeed, done any thing that would not have been right and proper in a private citizen; but very many have deeply regretted that one charged with so high a public trust should have been found mingling in the doings of speculative traders and brokers; and with an unexceptionable alternative candidate they were inclined to refuse to aid in placing him at the head of the national government. The very large vote given to Mr. Blaine in all the Northern States, the only ones in which free elections were held, should not be accepted as an approval of these transactions, so much as a protest against his opponent.

These things suggest some rather difficult questions respecting the code of personal ethics in public life. Members of the British Parliament receive no compensation, and are expected to abstain from all money-making enterprises in any way connected with the government. They must therefore be gentlemen of leisure and owners of considerable estates, and of course all but the rich are practically excluded. With us the case is quite otherwise. A seat in Congress is a paying position, and many a Congressman increases his income by serving the public. But his new position largely increases his necessities, and at the same time presents opportunities for money-making of which all, except the most scrupulous, readily avail themselves. Some, indeed, live within their salaries, or draw upon their private resources, and often retire to private life poorer in property than they were when they entered it, while others begin poor and become rich by practices that have not heretofore been reckoned dishonorable. And yet there can be no doubt that such practices are demoralizing, and not unfrequently the occasion of corruption in office, and of sharp practices in business. The evil of this state of things is sufficiently manifest, but the remedy is not easily found. Probably Mr. Blaine was among the less unscrupulous half of the money-making members of Congress. He was no doubt sharp at a bargain, but fair in his dealings according to the code of morals of those among whom he was acting. And yet it is to be wished that the practices with which he has been charged, and in respect to which his friends have sought to defend his conduct, were not so common as they are known to be among those holding public offices.

But there is comfort in the assurance that the standard of morals that suffices for candidates for public honors is not that which is demanded by the great mass of the people in their domestic and social relations. It is no doubt true, though greatly to be lamented, that many a husband and father gives his vote for the political advancement of men who would not be desired in their parlors, or allowed to associate with the young people of their families. Possibly, too, the American people have not now for the first time chosen a libertine to the Presidency, though we are not persuaded that they have done so; but happily heretofore no one has been so chosen with the brand of the leper upon his forehead.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PARIS. — The famous *Kulturkampf* that has raged in France as well as in Germany, although directed originally and mainly against the Catholic Church, has also struck the Protestants of France in a very sensitive manner. Many of them that hailed the new school law with joy, as the approach of a better era, because it relieved them from the clerical pressure that weighed them down in so many regions, find that they are still subjected to quite as much injustice as formerly. The government subsidies for salaries and house-rent have, through the entire land, been either cut off or greatly reduced, and thus the Protestant clergy, with their families, suffer a great deal more than the celibate priests.

Among the Protestants of Paris the Lutherans seem to have suffered most severely. The Reformed Churches have found a few wealthy friends among their adherents, but the German congregations are largely composed of poor immigrants who left Alsace when it was taken by the Germans, and the separation from their mother Church thus leaves them without much external aid or sympathy. And although the Lutherans, the same as the other Protestants of France, were very loyal to their country during the Franco-German war, it is impossible for the French to forget that these people are at least of German origin, which fact works greatly to their disadvantage. After the war the Lutherans succeeded in reinstating their theological faculty in Paris, but the promises made to them have been much weakened by the general war against the Churches. At the present time all the preachers are suffering from a great reduction of sustentation, while some of their schools have been either closed or transformed into municipal schools, in which the teaching of the Lutheran confession is not allowed. They have also been treated very parsimoniously by the city authorities as well as by the Legislative Assembly. A source of income from funerals in their community, amounting to 30,000 francs per year, has been taken from them and turned over to the city. It is true that these blows were intended mainly for the Catholic Church, but their greatest severity is felt by the Protestant minorities in the country. It would surprise no one if the State were soon to cut off all assistance, which would, perhaps, do less harm than the present condition of things, by awakening in the breast of the sufferers a spirit of independence.

PHILO-SEMITIC AND ANTI-SEMITIC. — The European world is still agitated with philo-Semitic and anti-Semitic demonstrations in the foreign press. A Belgian sheet, entitled the "Sunday Journal," lately presented a series of articles in favor of the Jews; and a literary celebrity in St. Petersburg recently published several letters on the same side. But it must be acknowledged that the championings of the Jews, in the press or on the platform, are mainly confined to themselves, and thus little is known of their efforts at self-defense outside of their own ranks.

On the other hand, the anti-Jewish movement is active every-where. One publication recently issued in Berlin is endeavoring to abolish the influence

of the Talmud from Judaism. A theological debater from Vienna has just been delivering lectures in Berlin on the Jewish question in Germany and Austria. Prof. Oort, of Leiden, treats very learnedly of the question of what is called the "blood-guilt" of the Jews, the suspicion of which has been brought down from the Middle Ages. Another practical question, namely, the overcrowding of the higher schools by the Jews, has been met at the University of Kieff by the resolution to admit only ten per cent. of Jews among the students. The endeavor in southern Russia to induce the Jews to go into agriculture has resulted in a complete failure. Of nearly five thousand Jewish landholders of thirty years ago, only about sixty now live on their possessions. A very significant series of articles lately appeared in the principal politico-economic journal of Germany, entitled "Judaism in the State;" these now appear in pamphlet form. In this the Jews are shown, in the words of their own leaders, to be a peculiar race and people within the State, and to be in a condition of perpetual antagonism to the rest of the population. On the whole, the conviction seems to be gaining ground that not much progress would be made in the way of modern emancipation with the Jews. Especially is this so, since the great mass of that people of to-day are zealously engaged in endeavoring to widen the chasm rather than to bridge it over.

THE OLD CATHOLICS IN CONGRESS.—The Old Catholics are again recovering courage, and have recently held a Congress in Germany. For the past few years they have been very much troubled by dissentings within their ranks, but they seem to have succeeded in separating the chaff from the wheat, and the latter is now making a valiant effort to germinate anew. In this Congress nearly forty districts were represented. The well-known jurist, Von Schulte, again presided. Congratulations were received from five American bishops, from one Irish bishop, and from numerous other religious celebrities. Among their proceedings we still find determined opposition to papal absolutism on the one hand, and to affiliation with any political party on the other. They are more than ever determined to oppose the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, and by a resolution expressed the hope that the period is not very far distant when on German soil a General Council, in the Old Catholic spirit of genuine reform in the Church, may convene.

A commission was appointed to recommend or prepare a series of writings for the young, illustrating Old Catholic truths. The Congress was honored by the presence of quite a number of foreign guests. Some of these, from Holland, the United States, and Ireland, delivered addresses. Among these was Von Santen, from Holland, who brought the greetings of the Archbishop of Utrecht, and further we note the greetings of Savarese and Campello, from Rome; Bishop Herzog, from Berne; professors from Munich, Halle, and Manheim, from Breslau, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Winchester. A public meeting was attended by three thousand hearers, and a banquet was enjoyed by about one hundred and forty delegates and friends. At this latter the Emperor of Germany was enthusi-

astically cheered. The Congress was certainly a grand success, and has done much to revive sympathy for Old Catholicism.

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM—"The Church Under the Cross" is a beautiful historical study by Pasteur Benoit. The expression "under the Cross" alludes to the sufferings of the French Protestants of the eighteenth century in the south of France, who were ever martyrs. The author is reliable in his information, judicious in his choice of facts, skillful in their presentation, and grave and sober in style; his story seems a poetic picture of the great past. He begins with the first years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and displays churches falling under the pick and pastors quitting the kingdom, and ends with churches reconstructed, consistories or official bodies either recognized or created by decree; and also presents to us Jean Béranger, the "Pastor of the Wilderness," appointed president, and, trembling with emotion, as he receives the solemn investiture of his charge in presence of a justice of the peace and a mayor. This book of Benoit helps one to comprehend how the Church passed from opprobrium to honor; and one sees throughout its pages that marvelous diversity of fate and that contrast of situations which gives to the description a strangely romantic interest.

Maspéro, the French director of the famous museum of Bulak, is again sending home valuable communications in regard to new "finds" in the sepulchers. He recently discovered a city of the dead of great extent and wealth near the ancient Panapolis. He found more than a hundred vaults, and investigated five of them very closely. In these he found 120 mummies, and from this sum infers that the total number of those in this resting-place of the dead must amount to about 6,000. He is preparing to make a more thorough investigation of these tombs with reference to inscriptions and manuscripts, hoping to find literary memorials from the Greek period of Egypt, because this city of Panapolis was, after the period of the Persian rule, the principal seat and favorite retreat of the Greeks. Fragments of the Greek poets, from Anacreon, Sappho, Pindar, and others, have already been discovered in like mortuary chambers. Maspéro has also made some new "finds" not far from Memphis, consisting of sarcophagi from the time of King Pepis I., which are covered with pictures and sacred inscriptions, and contain interesting works of art.

A recent review of the study of evangelical theology in Prussia during the last three years attests during that time a considerable increase of students of theology. Altogether in Prussian universities and other German schools there are 2,322 Prussians enrolled. Of these about 500 graduate yearly, a considerable number falling out by the way. For the Prussian Protestant churches about 400 new preachers are required yearly, thus leaving 100 for home and foreign missions. This increase in Prussian theological students is attributed to the fact that since the appeal of Prussian pastors to parents a few years ago, they have sent more of their children to the theological schools. There is also a sort of patriotic

revival among the Protestants of Prussia of interest in their home institutions; and the demand is now being made that all Prussian theological students shall spend at least three semesters in Prussian institutions. Of late years there has been quite a tendency in young Prussian theologues to go to other universities; last year there were 206 of them at Leipsic, 92 at Erlangen, and 118 at Tübingen. This scattering of the young men over so broad a surface exposes them to a great divergence of religious views, and some of them return home to be more troublesome than useful in their innovations.

"The Manual of Theological Sciences," by Zöckler, has just reappeared in a second very carefully revised edition, with numerous additions. This is a compliment to its value, and a call on the learned author for more work of this kind, which he, better than most of the theological scholars of his nation, is well able to supply. His treatise on Israelitish history, archæology, and biblical theology is very rich. This new issue is much larger than the old edition, and the increase comes not from the author alone, but also from a large corps of collaborators of the first rank. Among these are Prof. Scheele, of Upsala, on symbolics; Kübel, on apologetics; Cremer, on dogmatics; and Zöckler himself on *special* dogmatics. The entire work promises to be a very valuable guide and hand-book for the clergy, as well as for candidates and students. The theological world is now awaiting with much interest the appearance of another volume, to be devoted largely to the methods of biblical criticism.

The secular schools of France have made very great progress within the last few years, which may be graded by the financial appropriations made to them. They began in 1877 with 12,000,000 francs annually, and now receive over 70,000,000, which the leaders of the movement still declare to be too small. Paul Bert makes it his special business to keep a very critical eye on these institutions. He has just published statistics of the schools for the last year, in which he announces that there are still engaged in teaching about 38 per cent. of the Christian Brothers, and 45 per cent. of the Sisters, having no other diploma than a simple letter of obedience from superiors. Furthermore, he says that in spite of the laws of 1879, which direct every French department to have a normal school for both sexes, there are at the present time 36 departments that seem to have made no haste in complying with this law. There are at present over 1,200 teachers employed in the public schools belonging to the so-called "Congregations," who have no teaching diploma. According to the figures given by Bert, one third of the French school-children are still instructed by teachers of this class, who teach them to be hostile to "radical progress and democratic liberty." But Bert is glad to announce that in the public schools the system of laicization is being energetically introduced by means of the text-books. He is so unfortunate and unwise as to make the following developments. The grammar is no longer to contain the name of God, Jesus, prayer, or the Creator. A recent grammar

for children was thus corrected: In place of "God is the Creator of the world," there now stands, "Europe is a portion of the world." "Cain killed his brother Abel," now reads, "Italy has the form of a boot," etc.

The *Central Annual for Germany* contains a somewhat remarkable article on Symbolics by the late Professor Philippi, for some years professor in Röstock. While living he enjoyed in large religious circles the not-undeserved reputation of being the sole genuine orthodox Lutheran. It is this circumstance, perhaps, that has induced the publication of a synopsis of his academic lectures; for it would be difficult to find any other valid reason for such a publication, as theological science has nothing to gain by this addition to its library.

The stand-point of the author is expressed with the greatest clearness. He says: "The Lutheran Church is no ecclesiastical party or sect, but the purified, regenerated, original Catholic Church—that is, the true Church. It is such, not merely as the invisible but as the visible Church, because its Confession is drawn purely from the word of God, and it rejoices in the purest administration of the sacraments. All other Churches have, therefore, only in so far a share of the truth as they harmonize with its Confession." This assumed harmony between the doctrine of the Scripture and that of this Church presumes that the various Confessions are not a peculiar comprehension of the one Christian truth, but are simply different degrees of truth and error, according to their harmony with or digression from the genuine Lutheran platform. But the presentation of the doctrine is merely surface work, accompanied by no sufficient proofs and based on no principal foundation.

There are also clearly many groundless assumptions in these pages. The author's position in regard to Calvin certainly indicates that he was not fairly understood. The assumption that, according to Catholic doctrine, the Holy Ghost still gives to the Church new revelations, contains more hardihood than courage, and the entire publication seems to be more a series of academic notes to guide the lecturer in his choice and array of subjects than a well-digested defense of his creed. The publication of these has done the author no credit, and it has injured the orthodox Lutheran Church in the eyes of other German Christians and those of the world at large. Such orthodoxy in the leading Protestant Church of Germany has been productive of much harm to liberal and progressive Christianity, because it has appeared to the eyes of zealous and generous Christians as but one step removed from the ultramontane Catholic Church; and the majority of German Christians believe that the spirit of the nineteenth century has as much to fear from the one as from the other.

The same publication contains an article by Koffmane on "Luther and Home Missions"—Jubilee production handed in after the festival. The article is written with a very extensive knowledge of the subject. It makes us at first acquainted with the various phases of benevolent activity before the Reformation, and shows us the necessity and the wants clinging to this work of love.

"Pessimism and the Social Question," the leading article of the September number of the *Revue Oretienne* ("Christian Review"), by Chastand, is peculiarly French in its character, and quite acceptable at the present epoch, when the French are inclined to deduce the socialistic troubles of the Germans from their pessimistic philosophy. The French never have taken kindly to the German philosophers, and have allowed the teachings of Leibnitz and Hegel, Kant and Fichte, to pass by with little attention. Their own taste has always been toward an eclectic philosophy that would permit them to choose and adopt what would meet their comprehension and suit their own tastes, and let all else pass by as but mere chaff. But Schopenhauer, the real founder of pessimistic philosophy, has at least seemed clear and comprehensible to them, and, therefore, received more attention. In the writings of the two philosophers, Schopenhauer the founder, and Hartmann the preserver and propagator of this philosophy, there is an absence of abstract propositions, metaphysical arguments, and scholastic phrases, which makes them more acceptable to French thinkers, who much prefer the curt, perspicuous, and precise phrases, though often paradoxical. They seem to have taken to the letter these words of one of their own *savants*, namely, "Philosophical demonstrations which cannot be comprehended by all learned men are not worth the ink with which they have been printed."

The editor of the [Christian] Review (M. Pressensé), in his *résumé*, extends a hearty welcome to Père Hyacinthe on his return to Paris from his recent visit to this country. He acknowledges that the brilliant orator is always admirable, full of fire and imagination, frequently carrying away his audience by the rapid movement of his superb eloquence. But the writer hits the mark accurately when, while acknowledging him to be always the convincing Christian, he says that he unfortunately also always stops too soon in his opposition to the main principles of Catholicism. This has been the trouble with Père Hyacinthe from his first rupture with the Catholic Church, and has been mainly the cause of his failure in his Christian work. He has now handed in his resignation as vicar of his Gallican church, and proposes to himself in the future a more apostolic and evangelistic mission. He is eminently able, if he can strike the right chord, to render signal service to the Gospel work in France to the democracy of that country, which rejects the living Gospel largely because of ignorance of its character, which leads the masses to confound the God of Jesus Christ with an ultramontane idol. Hyacinthe has just found an able colleague in the Italian Abbe Rocca, who lately seceded from the Catholic Church and has published a very interesting book bearing the title, "Christ, the Pope, and Democracy." The writer, who certainly, from long experience, knows whereof he affirms, is boiling over with a vehement indignation against ultramontaniam, which he denounces with righteous wrath, as the principal producer of the impiety of the period, which it has nursed into life by violently separating Christianity from democracy and progress.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CHAUTAUQUA IDEA.—It needs a large crucible in which to assay the Chautauqua Idea. Its proportions, together with its multiple powers of reflection and refraction, have led admirers to esteem it almost as the Kohinoor of educational plans. Experts have come to variant conclusions as to its intrinsic value, but the popular estimate is undoubtedly high.

One difficulty in the way of any fair measurement of its advantages or shortcomings lies in the incomplete and tentative character of all its details. It is as impossible now to predict the future of Chautauqua as it was in its beginning to foresee it as it now is. Such rapidity of growth naturally breeds the thought of shallowness rather than of depth or strength; but if its vast work is to be unworthy or superficial, that is yet to appear. Because only a man may be superficial—not a youth. The superficiality of the scholar appears when he gets to work in the world. The conditions of Chautauqua at present are certainly not the conditions which ordinarily result in superficial scholarship. Some of these are, reluctant attention to a prescribed course of study in deference to the will of others rather than as the choice of the student; the *ignis fatuus* charm of graduation from an institution of renown—a charm that culminates and loses its power on commencement day; the thirst for a professional life only, the entrance to which the novice thinks to be the college door, front or back. And to these may be added, as one of the most plentiful sources of superficiality, the traditional social and otherwise congenial attractions of an under-graduate course, entirely outside the curriculum. But, without ancient prestige, Chautauqua fills its halls and groves with non-professional students, alive with enthusiasm, and gathering of their own choice. The lake-side, semi-summer-resort character of Chautauqua is, doubtless, an attraction to some not otherwise partial to literary culture; but it does not fairly offset the worthless society attractions of college, which draw together what Carlyle used to call the “unserious dilettanti,” because the *place*—habitable, healthful, accessible, picturesque—is but a mere fragment of Chautauqua, the chief feature of which is a great host scattered all over the continent, who, never having listened to the chimes, nor seen the hall or auditorium, yet having seemed to see a great light, read their books and master them, in voluntary classes or in solitude. It is well to remember, too, that even if the charge were proved, superficiality in scholarship is not to be condemned except where it is the deceptive substitute for profundity. A shallow rivulet is better than a summer-dried water-course. “A little learning,” “dangerous” as it may be, is infinitely better than none. And the privileges of Chautauqua are not offered in the stead of a collegiate curriculum, but of the intellectual emptiness of an average farm or factory.

In its methods Chautauqua commands the best, and its resources have thus far seemed equal to all emergencies. Its instructors are in the faculties of all colleges, and have sounded the depths in their special depart-

ments. It exhausts its topics with brilliant analysis and illustration. Professor Doremus passes street-gas under ordinary pressure clear through a cubic foot of good sandstone six times coated with shellac, and with a match lights it as it comes through on the other side, and all to show the absurdity of a saucerful of chloride of lime as a disinfectant of volatile poisons and contagious disease. The microscopist places a fine cambrie needle before the lens, and the figure thrown upon the canvas measures five inches across the point which just pricked your finger. This sort of thing is exhaustive, and at exhaustiveness Chautauqua aims.

Religiously, Chautauqua is a curious phenomenon. Starting from thoroughly Methodist sources, it speedily announced itself undenominational. A close observation of its laws, methods, and general plan will reveal a strain of Puritanism and a touch of Ritualism, as well as the birthright fervor of Methodism. And already enthusiastic Chautauquans make the bold claim that in the building of the great frame-work of the Chautauqua Idea the hands of the mighty of all time have had something to do—Socrates and Cromwell, Paul and Loyola, Fröbel and Carlyle and Wesley. Of course the narrow-minded will tend to the recognition only of the stones dug from their own quarry, and the exceedingly narrow will fall into the mistake that the ultimate result will be an absorption of all things into their own limited order. But this does not alter facts. On a Saturday evening a little group just arrived at Chautauqua ascended the hill leading from the landing to the hotel. The foot-path led before a whitened statue of Mercury, poised and wing-footed, but shadowed from the full moonlight by the foliage of the over-arching trees. In passing it one of the company was overheard to say, "I suppose that is a statue of John Wesley." Equally puerile and ridiculous was the inference drawn a short time since in the columns of "The Churchman," of New York city, that the religious features of Chautauqua were becoming largely liturgical and ritualistic, and that its president had strong "Churchly" tendencies, because in the public service of the auditorium some well-chosen sentences from the Book of Common Prayer were employed.

The Chautauqua University is the natural outgrowth of the "Literary and Scientific Circle," multitudes being led by the studies of the Circle to feel deeper wants and to indulge higher aspirations. Having a share of the world's work already on their hands, they were debarred from ordinary college privileges. Arrangements were accordingly made for a thorough University Course—the lessons to be conducted by correspondence, and each pupil to come into close relations to each professor.

There are now 60,000 students enrolled as members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, of whom 20,000 belong to the class most recently organized, who will finish their course in 1888. These reside in all parts of the world—every State and Territory in the Union, every province of Canada, and every continent, having its representative. The population of the Grove rises to at least 30,000 in the height of the Assembly season.

ROMANIST "FREE SCHOOLS" IN THE UNITED STATES.—It is a pregnant and ominous fact that one of the two chief religious denominations of the United States is avowedly arraigned in bitter hostility to that system of primary education which all the other religious bodies, and indeed the bulk of American citizens, have been accustomed to regard as one of the bulwarks of our civilization and our liberties. The controversies which have perennially sprung up all along the path of progress of the "Common School"—ever since its earliest development in this country—are as eagerly pressed now as at any former time. It is always of interest to the fair-minded thinker to obtain a clear view of his subject from a stand-point at the farthest possible remove from his own. This consideration gives a peculiar interest, in the eyes of a Protestant, to a recently published review of "Catholic Free Schools in the United States—their Necessity, Condition, and Future," from the scholarly pen of John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., which has recently appeared in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review." The author sketches the history of elementary schools during the first fifty years of our national history, and shows how in the beginning "religion was the underlying element of all education." The Protestant patronage of "godless" schools he traces to the rebellion of the "active minds of New England" against the despotism of the old-time Congregationalism. The denominations gradually took less interest in their schools, and at last relied almost exclusively on State aid. State schools then took the place of denominational schools; and according to Dr. Shea the old religious element would have entirely died out had not the Bible been, almost accidentally, taken as a school-book. "The lack of 'readers' made it convenient to employ as a reading book a volume to be found in almost every house." About forty years ago Dr. Shea thinks a golden opportunity was lost by the advocates of religious training. A clear, logical statesman might then have built a plan by which every citizen could obtain for his children the highest possible education, with such religious training as he preferred. "But a wretched compromise was effected, and this is the system which has gained in several States, and is talked of as national." The early Roman Catholic Councils earnestly but fruitlessly exhorted the bishops and clergy to establish schools "in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morals while they are instructed in letters." About 1852 Archbishop Hughes gave a new impulse to Roman Catholic education by both earnest words and diligent example. "Parochial schools" were established in all directions. Soon "approved" school-books were prepared; and during the last thirty years the progress of these parochial schools has been truly wonderful—all the more wonderful because they have been supported almost exclusively by the "constant small contributions of the many." It is a suggestive fact, freely admitted by Dr. Shea, that in not a single case has a Roman Catholic school been founded or endowed by an individual. "Ireland," says he, "is dotted with the ruins of convents and monasteries, most of which were founded and endowed by individuals in the Ages of Faith. Spain, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, show similar foundations; it is a reproach to the Catholics

of the United States that their body has produced so few men actuated by large and charitable impulses that spring from faith." Yet, though the parochial schools were thus dependent for their creation and maintenance on the liberality of the poor under the direction of the priests, their number had risen in 1875 to 1,444; in 1876, to 1,645; in 1879, to 1,958; and in 1880, to 2,246, with 405,234 pupils. At the commencement of the year 1884, the Catholic body in the United States, according to the statistics furnished by the several dioceses, "taxed as they were to maintain State schools, which they could not conscientiously use for the education of their children," maintained 2,532 parochial schools, in which 481,834 children were educated. The "Catholic Almanac" of 1834 records but three parochial schools; that of 1884, 2,532, and nearly half a million of pupils. The total average attendance at the public schools in 1880 was 5,805,342 in a total population of fifty millions, a little over ten per cent.; while the Catholic community of eight millions had in its own free schools half a million, or nearly seven per cent. "A few years," predicts the essayist, "will make the Catholic rate exceed that of the State school."

THE ELEVATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.—It is a cause for profound thankfulness that our political philosophers have ceased to urge the extermination of the Indians. The "military policy" has fewer advocates than formerly; and even the annual report of the General of our army has less than usual to say concerning the methodical slaughter of the aboriginal tribes. A pessimist might readily find reason for this apparent change of public sentiment in the unquestioned tendency of the redskins toward extinction. But it is better to seek its source in those humane agencies, which, beginning with the "peace policy" of President Grant, have ever since, with multiform philanthropy, helped to lift the Indians toward civilization. It is noteworthy that at a meeting of the National Teachers' Association recently held in Madison, Wis., one of the most able discussions was upon the best system for the education of Indian youth. General S. C. Armstrong, the Principal of the Normal Industrial School at Hampton, Va.—an authority in these matters—spoke most hopefully of the aggregated results of the efforts made during the last five or six years to elevate and Christianize the Indian youth. From three to five thousand of the thirty thousand Indian youth of school age are now trained industrially amid civilizing surroundings; a knowledge of the mechanic arts, elevated social customs, and a mastery of the English language are imparted to them by experienced teachers, and they are thoroughly drilled to become teachers themselves. The results, thus far, are full of hope. Enough time has elapsed to indicate the tendency of Indian children at their homes after a practical training in the midst of civilization, in which over one half of the instruction given each year is, for the young men, in trades and in farming; for the girls, in housework, cooking, and making garments. The General pleads for "a well-conducted training of the hands, head, and heart for a period of about five

years, sending pupils back to their old homes for a visit of from three to twelve months at the end of the third year."

The results of three years' work have not been disappointing. Of seventy-one sent back from Hampton since 1881, but seven have been reported as "gone back to the blanket," which means giving up citizen's dress for a woolen "toga," putting on paint, going to dances, and letting the hair grow long. Not one of them has become a horse-thief or a renegade. Of the rest, about one half are more or less weak and fickle, needing the agent's care and the influence of the missionary to keep them to steady habits or to lead them back from temporary relapses. The other half are comparatively steady, industrious, and thrifty; good examples to their people, whose feeling about the education of their children has changed remarkably in the past few years.

General Armstrong spent some time in an endeavor to prove what needs no demonstration—that the American Indians should have the best of men to guide them and the largest chances to improve. With the tremendous wave of progress across the continent resulting from four lines of railroad—the irresistible grasp by the whites of mining, farm, and grazing lands—the necessity of securing lands in severalty in order to have any thing left of the extensive, but doomed, domain they now occupy—the only stand they can make against the forces about them being to become citizens and voters—there is no chance of the Indians of our country but in sufficient and practical education in labor schools, and in an able, energetic, local management through competent agents, who shall be sustained in every effort to advance their people, keep whisky away, and establish them on lands of their own.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE COAST AND INTERIOR MISSIONS OF AFRICA. — Africa is attracting more and more the attention of statesmen, missionaries, explorers, and mercantile adventurers. From the East Coast great missionary and trading enterprises have pushed into the heart of the continent, and formed their settlements and stations on the shores of the great lakes. Beginning with the Church Missionary Society on the Victoria Nyanza, in King Mtesa's kingdom, where, within a year, surprising progress has been made in education and in conversions, we go a comparatively short distance south, partly by roads made by the missionaries, passing several missionary stations, until we come to the field of operations of the London Society on Lake Tanganyika, and between the lake and the coast, among an intelligent but warlike people. From this long and narrow lake a short journey southward brings us to Lake Nyassa, lying much nearer to the coast, and easier of access than the other lakes. On the southern shore of this body of water the Scottish Free Church, which had prepared valuable native assistants for this formidable undertaking (regarded formidable ten years ago) at its famous Lovedale Institution in South Africa, has established itself. The

Free Church Society is endeavoring to form a chain of stations around the lake, and to establish free, intelligent, and Christian communities, in which purpose it has the earnest co-operation of the mission of the Kirk of Scotland, situated at Blantyre, on the Shiré River, near the southern shore of the lake.

These lake missions, which have cost much in treasure as well as some valuable lives (particularly to the London Missionary Society), might not have been established if their founders had foreseen all the difficulties and discouragements they have encountered; but they have probably passed their hardest days, and are now entering upon more productive stages. The missionaries, indeed, find much to encourage them. Heathenism, corrupted by its contact with civilization along the coast, has less of hope in it than heathenism in the gross forms in which it is found in the interior of the continent. The Arab slave-catchers have, it is true, been long among the interior tribes, but only for trade. They had not propagated Mohammedanism on the Nyanza when the missionaries settled in Uganda. It did not seem to occur to them to do so until after the standard of Christianity had been raised. Whatever may be true of other portions of Africa, a broad belt in the interior, extending from the Equator south to Lake Ngami, is chiefly dominated by the native religions. Mtesa, after a thorough test, found more to his satisfaction in the *lubari* of the lake than in the religion of the desert. The missionaries find that the youth are, for the most part, very quick and intelligent. Those in Uganda learn to read with amazing facility, and quickly comprehend the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Nothing more encouraging from any point has come to our knowledge than the conversions reported among the Buganda.

Besides these lake missions, the Church Missionary Society has had for many years a station at Mombasa, in the mountainous region near the coast and below the Equator, and the Universities Mission, which used to be attached to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has a mission between the coast and Lake Tanganyika. Both of these are centers for freed slaves, and are flourishing enterprises. The American Board, advancing north from its old field in Zululand, has sought to establish a station in Umzila's kingdom, thus making a line of stations from Algoa Bay to Juba at the Equator. But this mission is as yet little more than a project. The southern part of the continent, from the Limpopo River on the East Coast round to the Orange River on the West Coast, and from Cape Town north to the Kalahari Desert—a territory embracing a great variety of tribes, from the dull Bushman to the bright and interesting Bechuanas—is more fully occupied than any other. If the native Christians of all names could be gathered into one South African Church, they would make a large and influential body of Christians. Here British, German, and French societies, as well as the American Board, have long been at work, and the French society is pushing north to the southern branch of the Zambesi and the Chobe, half way between the two coasts.

The Western Coast has claimed most attention for a year or two. Stanley's exploration of the Congo, and the attempt of the African Interna-

tional Association to open the great Congo basin to the trade of the world, have excited the interest of Europe and given rise to great mission enterprises. Portugal, which had almost forgotten the existence of its West Coast colonies, has roused itself to assert and maintain its rights. France wants to add to its territory. Germany is anxious to acquire possessions; and even Spain has had a revival of its old colonial spirit. On the 15th of November an International Conference met in Berlin to consider whether it is desirable to partition that part of West Africa still unappropriated, and whether the Congo shall be free to the world. France has the first territory of value south of the Great Desert in Senegambia, but its influence extends almost to Sierra Leone. At the mouth of the Gambia British territory begins, but it is only a small colony. South of this is the native kingdom of Combo, which has only about twenty miles of coast line, the French possession of Cazamanca lying next. Portugal has a little patch on the south bank of the Cazamanca, and, with some insignificant exceptions, its dominion extends along the coast to the Bissagos Islands. Sierra Leone, Sherbro Island, and Turner's Peninsula belong, of course, to Great Britain. Thus from the Senegal to the Republic of Liberia the coast is a sort of patch-work, the flags of Great Britain, Portugal, and France alternating, the French holding, perhaps, the largest proportion. We need not stop to speak of Liberia and the Methodist mission work there. It is a long, interesting, but painful history of comparative failure. For the next two hundred miles below Liberia native chiefs hold sway. It is the country of the Kroos, the laborers and porters of the West Coast. Grand Bassa and Assinie, which were formerly French colonies and have recently been reoccupied, take us to the northern border of the British Gold Coast. Between Quettah and Great Popo Dr. Nachtigal has lately raised the German flag. Beyond Great Popo lies Dahomey; then Porto Novo, which is French; then Fort Ajuda, which is Portuguese, followed by one hundred and eighty miles of coast under British rule. Below the Benue Great Britain has recently been hoisting its colors, and aims to control the Niger, on which it has important interests, and the rest of the coast to its Lagos possessions. On the Cameroons coast the Germans have been doing something in the way of annexation. The next two hundred miles of coast belongs to the Banakas. Corisco Island is Spanish, south of which France has claims. This is a very interesting piece of territory, as to which a writer in the London "Times" says:

No one disputes that the French have legitimate possession of the long strip of coast from Corisco Bay to beyond the mouth of the Pembo, a distance of quite three hundred miles, and including the mouth of the Ogové and the fine Bay of Gaboon. Under the auspices of De Brazza and other explorers, the French have been not only opening up the interior and tracing out river trade-routes, but been among great stretches of territory as they went. How far their power extends in the interior it would be difficult to say, but by a sweep up the Ogové and down the Alima, they have at least a line of territory ending at Stanley Pool, on the Congo. Between the French territory and the mouth of the Congo, some three hundred and fifty miles, the coast at present is chiefly occupied by petty native kingdoms, which will doubtless soon be absorbed, probably by France. Along this coast there are several small settlements belonging to various Powers; at

Setti Camma are some British factories; at the mouth of the Kevilu are both Dutch and English factories; at Punta Negra is the station recently occupied by the French; at Chinchoxo is a Dutch factory, and just south of the last-named is Landana, which, with the adjoining territory, was placed under Portuguese authority by treaty with the native chiefs in December last. The International Association have established stations at the mouth of the Ruilla that are connected by a regular series with the Upper Congo, while the French have a station at the mouth of the Congo on its northern shore. Up the Congo estuary are factories of various nations, while at Vivi the domain of the International Association begins. But at present the Congo mouth and the coast on each side is debatable if not neutral territory. This is certainly the great prize of all the coast, and no one nation will be allowed to possess it without much protest from the others. Better, as we have before advocated, that it should remain really neutral, and that under the auspices of the Association trade should in the meantime be free and unrestricted. It is doubtful, however, if all the four nations interested will be likely to restrain themselves; in the general scramble that has begun we may hear any day of the annexation by some one power of all the Congo coast.

South of the Congo for one hundred and thirty miles the natives are in possession; then comes the Portuguese territory stretching along the coast for seven hundred miles or more. Below this Germany is seeking to obtain the coast as far south as the Orange River.

The West Coast, then, from the Senegal to the Orange is already chiefly in the possession of four European nations, whose desire is for the most part to develop their colonies and stimulate trade. From Vivi, on the Congo, far into the interior, the International Association wishes to be in control for the purpose of making the river free and of developing a civilized government for the numerous tribes occupying the Congo Valley. The future of missionary enterprise in Western and Central Africa will depend in no small degree on the political arrangements soon to be made.

The most noteworthy of the new mission enterprises are those on the Congo. The English Baptist Society, establishing its first station at San Salvador, followed a route to the river and established a line of stations to Stanley Pool, beginning with Underhill, immediately to the north of San Salvador. There are in all four stations on the river below Stanley Pool, all on the south bank. A small steam-ship called the "Peace" has been transported in sections to the Pool, and there put together and launched for service on the Upper Congo, where there is a stretch of perhaps a thousand miles which the little boat can navigate. The first station above the Pool is Tukolela. The society has determined to send no fewer than twenty men to preach and teach on the Upper Congo, which presents, perhaps, the most magnificent opportunity in Africa for great efforts and achievements. The other mission on the Congo was begun by a society known as the Livingstone Inland Mission, which was organized at Cardiff, Wales, and which was chiefly supported by Plymouth Brethren. Mr. and Mrs. H. Grattan Guinness were its inspiration. The society sent out its first missionaries early in 1878. They established a station at Banana, at the mouth of the Congo, and soon had a line of stations on the north bank to Stanley Pool. Upward of a hundred thousand dollars were expended up to last spring, and twelve persons lost their lives in the work, which, of course, is still in its first stage, with no noteworthy results to report.

A steamer was ordered for the Upper Congo, and preparations were made to advance into the far interior when the society saw that more funds than it could command would be needed. For this reason all its interests on the Congo have been transferred to the American Baptist Missionary Union, whose wise management in India and Burmah, and whose ample resources, lead to the expectation that this Congo mission will be vigorously prosecuted.

Besides the English and American Baptists there is soon to be another missionary force on the Congo. Bishop William Taylor, as is well known, is forming a company of workers whom he expects to station on the noble river. His plan is to form a chain of twenty or more stations on a line south of and parallel to the Congo. He will need about forty missionaries, of whom twenty have been already enrolled. It is stated that he himself will enter Africa from the Atlantic coast with twenty missionaries, and Dr. Summers will enter Africa from the Indian Ocean with twenty more missionaries in May or June next. Both parties will advance toward the interior until they meet, thus completing the chain of mission stations across Africa from the mouth of the Congo on the Atlantic Ocean to the mouth of the Zambesi on the Indian Ocean. The only money the Bishop asks for is passage money to Africa, and the conditions he lays down are these:

1. That our friends in America, through our Transit Fund Society, may pay their passage outward.
2. That all our workers shall depend on God and the people they serve for daily bread.
3. That they shall receive their salary in full from our Father in heaven after their arrival in the "Heavenly Jerusalem."

Before passing from this great river and its great valley to speak of other mission enterprises a word ought to be said in acknowledgment of the service Leopold, the King of Belgium, has performed as head of the International Association in opening this territory to commerce and Christianity. He has expended of his own means no less than a million of dollars in the work of exploration, road-building, and station-planting. Mrs. Guinness, in an interview with him, ventured to ask him what had caused him to take such a profound interest in Africa. He replied, that when the Lord took away his only son, he felt at first as if he had nothing to live for, until God seemed to say to him, "Live for Africa." He added: "You know I am a Catholic; I love God and want to please him." In the middle of October the association sent out its fifth expedition, under Lieutenant Becker, who is to cross the continent from the east to the west, in order to connect the stations of the Upper Congo with those of the interior, and thus to render Karema as accessible from the West Coast of Africa as from Zanzibar. The work of the expedition is to be completed within two years.

Three or four hundred miles south of the Congo, in the Portuguese possessions, lies the town of Benguela, in the province of the same name. At this point two or three years ago the American Board sought to enter the interior, and to found a mission at Bihè, on high and healthy ground. The missionaries formed a station on the route, at Bailundu,

whose king, Kwikwi, received them kindly, and among whose people they seemed to have friends. A small party pushed on from Bailundu, after some months, to Bihè, and were settled comfortably there when they received intelligence that Kwikwi had ordered the force in Bailundu to quit his dominions at once. They accordingly joined their friends at Bailundu, and the whole party marched to the coast, accomplishing the journey in about twenty-three days. Kwikwi gave no reason for his sudden change of mind, for he had been very gracious to the missionaries; but they well understood that his mind had been poisoned against them by a Portuguese slave-dealer. Remonstrance and entreaty were alike in vain, and the missionaries were compelled to depart, leaving goods behind to be plundered by the greedy natives. Kwikwi upbraided them because they had not given him whisky, guns, and gunpowder. This promising mission is therefore temporarily broken up, and part of the missionaries are in this country.

OUR FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK.

The session of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for 1884, was held in New York, Nov. 5-13, at which the missionary operations of the Church, both foreign and domestic, were carefully reviewed, and plans for future action adopted. That "Committee" is, in fact, the great directing power of the Church in all its missionary matters, having its authority directly from the General Conference, and being empowered, among other things, to "determine what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed in said missions, and the amount [of money] necessary for the support of each mission." It is composed of the Bishops and thirteen Commissioners at large, appointed by the General Conference, and an equal number chosen by the Board of Managers from its own body, and the Corresponding Secretaries and Treasurers. The attendance was full, and the business in hand was diligently attended to and very thoroughly examined; and the work for the next year, as far as the means would allow, effectually provided for.

In these proceedings the whole scheme and scope of the denomination's foreign missionary work passed in review, and both what has been done and what it is proposed to do were very clearly stated and determined, and the feeling awakened seemed to be one of encouragement and gratitude in respect to the past, and of hopefulness for the future, except as to the pecuniary means needed for the effectual prosecution of the work. The gross income of the treasury for the current year was shown to have been \$751,123, which was a slight falling off from that of the preceding year, though it appeared that the decline was entirely in the incidental resources (chiefly legacies), and that the contributions by the churches had advanced a few thousands. The aggregate amount appropriated to be used during the year now ensuing (including \$67,721, for "liquidation

of debt") is \$850,000, of which nearly \$350,000 is for foreign work, distributed as follows :

Africa.....	\$4,000	Italy	\$28,378
South America.....	20,500	Mexico.....	34,782
China.....	69,803	Japan.....	34,936
Germany and Switzerland.....	24,600	Korea.....	8,100
Scandinavia.....	46,833		
India.....	67,171		\$351,979
Bulgaria and Turkey.....	12,876		

No new mission field was projected, though Korea, which was provided for last year, has not yet been actually occupied, but it is said all the preliminary arrangements have been made, and the work will soon be entered upon with a good outlook. The selection and appointment of the missionaries is in all cases the work of the Bishops, and the details of the home administration are committed to the Corresponding Secretaries and the Board of Managers, the last a corporate body composed of the Bishops and sixty-four others named by the General Conference, one half each of ministers and laymen, which Board meets monthly at the Mission Rooms.

The foreign missions of the denomination have advanced steadily, but not rapidly, for more than half a century, until they have become many and world-wide, and some of them are of large proportions. Africa and South America—rather, Liberia and Buenos Ayres and vicinity—are of the longest standing, and neither of them has been even ordinarily successful, though the latter now promises better things.

In China a mission was begun in 1846-47, at Foochow, and since then three others have been founded, at Kiukiang (Central China), Peking, and, within a few years past, at Chung-king, in the extreme west, about 1,200 miles from the coast. After a long period of almost fruitless efforts the mission at Foochow began to be successful among the people, and it has since become aggressive; and by its action Methodism has become fairly seated and established as a naturalized form of religion in all the extensive and populous province of Fukien. Its laborers are chiefly natives, who are pecuniarily sustained for the greater part by the people and churches among whom they are working. Though they are less advanced, because they are newer, yet the same remarks will apply generally to the other missions in that empire.

The mission work in India, in the North-west Provinces, was undertaken a little more than thirty years ago; and though it has had its reverses, it has been on the whole highly successful and prosperous, with the promise of steady, permanent, and almost indefinite increase. The work appears to be prosecuted in all its affairs with the purpose of raising up and establishing an indigenous Christian community, chiefly operated by native agencies, and sustained by their own resources. Its system of schools—extending from vernacular primaries scattered among the villages to high schools, one or two of which seem to be developing into complete colleges after the best American type, and a school for training preachers and other workers—is full of promise for the future of India;

and the agents of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, operating apart and yet in unison, are carrying the blessings of the Gospel to many of the females of the upper classes, who are entirely beyond the reach of the ordinary methods. This mission is evidently regarded with great favor by all who have looked into its affairs, and they seem to expect still greater things from it.

The missionary work in Japan is the wonder of the age, for in but little more than ten years that whole empire, so long almost hermetically closed against the outside world, has become thoroughly permeated with the teachings of Christianity, and seems to be rapidly hastening to take its place among the older nations of Christendom; and among the agents of this wonderful work, the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church seem to hold a not inconsiderable place. These three—the Chinese, the Indian, and the Japanese—are the only properly heathen missions of the Church, and they are those to which it may point with the highest satisfaction in respect to both actual achievements and assurances for the future. All of them appear to be advancing steadily, and with reasonable rapidity, toward the conditions of self-supporting and self-governing Christian bodies.

The missions in Bulgaria, Italy, Mexico, and South America are those in non-Protestant Christian countries. Of the last some account has been given, and of the first it may be said that it has been the hardest and least productive field that has been undertaken; but after being almost entirely wiped out during the Russo-Turkish war, some ten years ago, it has since been rehabilitated with improved prospects. The mission in Italy was begun in 1871, and has advanced somewhat successfully, in respect to converts and churches and a native ministry, but the reports indicate that in matters of self-relying independence these converts from Romanism have not proved very apt scholars; and till those things shall be learned the mission will be comparatively feeble and ineffective for good.

The work in Mexico is comparatively new. It was begun early in 1873, and has advanced fairly well, but it is yet too soon to speak of it as either a success or a failure, though enough has appeared to encourage the belief that it will succeed. Here, however, as in all Roman Catholic countries, the missionaries find their greatest difficulties in the false and often demoralizing conceptions of religion and morals into which the people have been educated in their ancestral Church.

The Church has its missions, also, in each of the Protestant countries of north-western Europe—Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Their presence there may seem to require an apology, which is found in the fact that in all these countries Methodism of the American type had been introduced and partially naturalized before the home Church was officially aware of the process. Emigrants from those lands to this country had been converted, and, going back again, they had told their kinsfolk and former acquaintances of what they had experienced, and so they kindled the Methodist fires and constituted its worship and discipline in their

several fatherlands. And soon, as was natural, the Macedonian cry for help came over the ocean, and, equally naturally, it was practically responded to. The mission in Germany dates from 1850, in which year a very small beginning was made at Bremerhaven; and the work has so prospered that it now extends over most of the empire, and also into the German cantons of Switzerland, with a membership of more than ten thousand and nearly a hundred ministers—all natives of the country. The success of the work, which it is claimed has exerted a most wholesome influence on the State Church, has seemed to justify all that has been done and expended, in both labor and money, though some are asking whether the same outlay among the heathen would not have been more profitable and more seemly. German Methodism has, indeed, become well grown; but it seems to be rather reluctant to stand and walk alone. The work among the Scandinavian nations had a like origin, and its success has been even more marked, and its outlook, as seen by its friends, is altogether radiant. But the work in all these countries, and in some of the other missions also, is becoming embarrassing by reason of the magnitude to which it has attained. The child has fairly outgrown its childhood; and what now must be done for it?

The history of this work is suggestive. It is a record of consecrated devotion on the part of the workers in the field of a good degree of liberality, and of directing wisdom on that of the Church at home, of success in giving the Gospel to those who were without its blessings, and in planting churches and other Christian institutions among the heathen. In respect to all these points the Church in its missionary administration has richly earned the confidence of its constituency, which ought to be responded to by largely increased pecuniary support. But the enlarged proportions of the work are beginning to call for broader views and more comprehensive methods than have hitherto been used. The Christianizing of a people must be effected not by strangers but by its own people, and the church institutions of each people must be its own, and not a portion or branch of a foreign and alien body. The time for their separation has evidently come to a considerable number of these missions, as a means to their own best development, and, as well, to leave the home Church free to enter some of the many open doors through which millions of heathens are calling for the word of life. The late General Conference seemed to feel the presence and the force of these things, but after a few tentative efforts, in which it failed to meet their demands, it left things much as they were. It may be hoped that when another shall assemble the subject will have been so prepared to its hands that the needed adjustments may be consummated.

THE MAGAZINES.

IN America the Magazine has reached a development not attained in any other land. Here it combines the literary review, the art journal, the political and social essay, the biographical and geographical record, the scientific chronicle and the lecture platform, the serial novel, and the school of decorative art. It is impossible to compare the foreign and domestic magazines without seeing that our own surpass, in popular merit and attractiveness, those of any other country. Magazine work abroad is far more specialized than here. The student is better served in Europe; the people are vastly better served in the United States.

At the head stands "Harper's," with the "Century" not far behind. The rivalry between these leaders has produced a richness and variety of illustration which remains a monthly wonder. The ablest writers in the country seek opportunities to reach the public through the Magazine. Publications of the "Review" type have had to stir themselves, to submit to modifications of plan and frequency of publication in order to keep their place. Meanwhile, the people are able to secure, for a very small sum, artistic illustration and interesting and valuable matter in such quantity that the Magazine has become one of the chief educational forces of the country.

The October "Harper's" is an unusually fine number. Its range is something wonderful: Scandinavia, England, Mexico, Holland, California, New York, Kentucky, were ransacked for illustration and matter. Treadwell Walden's paper on the "Great Hall of William Rufus" is a fine example of the charm which may be given to a familiar subject by a sympathetic and skilled writer. Windsor Castle could not supply from its strange history more romantic incident or charming pictures. There is the delight of novelty in the reproduction of the old and little-known portraits of England's kings, nobles, and commoners. And how pleasant to compare the Westminster of 1647 with the Westminster of 1884 by the help of Hollar's quaint plan and map. Hans Christian Andersen is less known to the children of to-day than to those of thirty years ago. But many a heart now worn with burden-bearing will be cheered by the portrait of that rare genius who made the days bright with the fun and pathos of the "Ugly Duck." Not even De Amicis has surpassed our countryman, George H. Boughton, in describing Holland. Boughton shows as much skill with his pen as with his pencil. He has caught with marvelous ability all that is characteristic in the landscape, the occupations, and the people of the Low Countries. Many of his figures are exquisite in the charm of unsophisticated peasant life. The verbatim report of "My Life as a Slave," by Charles Stewart, an old Kentucky negro, is one of the best things in a rich and varied number. The portrait of Darwin is superb as a work of art, and reveals the great naturalist without the disguise of a beard. The paper on "Municipal Finance" deserves careful reading.

The November "Harper's" exhibits great editorial tact in its adaptation to the season. Its spirit is of the autumn rather than of the long summer days. That noble fall flower, the chrysanthemum, is splendidly engraved. Many will learn for the first time from Mr. Thorpe's article that the chrysanthemum is the national emblematic flower of the Chinese and Japanese, receiving the most reverential care and attention. Columbia College, whose history as King's College was traced in a preceding number, is very fully described by an anonymous writer, presumably Dr. Barnard. This college, on account of its situation in the city of New York, and from its great wealth through endowments in land, dating from colonial times, is likely to have an increasing future. The portraits accompanying this article are noteworthy. Joseph Hatton, an unsurpassed magazine writer, contributes a delightful sketch of Sir Joseph Hooker and the Botanical Gardens at Kew. "Norman Fisher Folk" have filled of late years a large place in art, and Mary Gay Humphreys makes them interesting by the careful study of their ways and spirit. Reinhart's pencil revels in the quaint costumes and pathetic expression of these toilers of the sea. Mr. Walden returns in this number to the "Great Hall of William Rufus," and reaches one of the most thrilling periods of its history. The frontispiece presents Vandyke's portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, his queen. This engraving is Mr. Closson's masterpiece. Soft, yet clear, preserving every characteristic of Vandyke's work except the color, it deserves a frame as the highest achievement of the American graver. In a totally different style is the full-page illustration on page 908 of Mr. Roe's "Serial Story." Mr. Bernstrom is only a degree behind Mr. Closson in the delicate strength of his work. The paper on Sydney Smith by Andrew Lang is excellent, and is sympathetic toward the strengths and weaknesses of that mad parson. The portrait, though the features are strong, shows in the lines of the mouth the undying fun which sometimes scandalized his calling.

The October "Century" does not equal its successor. The portrait of Austin Dobson exhibits the face of one of England's younger men of genius. It is an essentially musical face. The late war is not likely to lack historians. George F. Williams, in "Lights and Shadows of Army Life," achieves a distinct success in a well-worn field. The "Century" excels in the reproduction of etchings. Those of Edwin D. Forbes, illustrating this article, are of great power. Mr. Smalley, in the "Cœur d'Alene Stampede," shows how the spirit of '49 survives in this recent rush to new mining fields. It would seem that Edward Eggleston has laid aside the pen of the novelist for the quill of the historian. His article on "Social Conditions in the Colonies" is only a little less picturesque than the old houses and interiors engraved in illustration. Mr. Stillman, in his *Homeric Studies*, reaches the "Odyssey and its Epoch." The engravings are of the less known parts of Greece. Religious thinkers will find much to stir and profit in Washington Gladden's study of "Christianity and Wealth." The matter and illustration of Mr. Langley's explanation of the

"New Astronomy" are of the highest order. Nowhere can our readers find so full and fresh information as to the most recent facts and conclusions of astronomical science. A very valuable feature of the "Century" is the open letters, always discussing topics of the highest interest.

The November number is the best issued in a long time. Elihu Vedder is a man of genius, but not all the products of genius are pleasing. The frontispiece is by Mr. Vedder, and is of the same type as the figures on the cover. They are certainly vigorous, and as certainly coarse. They attract attention very much as any writhing forms are fascinating. But his pictures are not beautiful. Austin Dobson's poem on "The Sedan Chair" is a graceful bit, and the illustrations, while sketchy, are telling. The genius of Howells is manifest in the initial chapter of his new story, "The Rise of Silas Lapham." The most interesting paper, from the novelty of its subject, is that on the "Chinese Theater." The full-page illustration on page 36 is a marvel of good work. Mr. McDowell says of the social esteem in which Chinese actors are held, or rather not held, "that they occupy in China the lowest social caste. They are incapacitated from holding any place under the government, and the rule applies to all the sons and grandsons as well." The heathen Chinamen would appear to have evolved a prejudice against the actor's calling not unlike that known in Christian lands. Mary Hallock Foote supplies Mr. Janvier's story of "The Lost Mine" with a magnificent illustration. The paper on the "Sculptors of the Early Italian Renaissance" is of only moderate interest and merit. The reproductions of the old drawings will, however, carry it. Annie Fields's account of her acquaintance with Charles Reade has some biographical interest. But the article which of itself would give this number a wide sale is that by Gen. Beauregard on "The Battle of Bull Run." It is written in excellent temper, and betrays the disposition to criticise Jefferson Davis which was manifest in the general's recent military biography. The portraits are remarkable, and many of the illustrations are from photographs only recently accessible. This series is to be a marked feature of the "Century" for some months to come. George Ticknor Curtis, always a thoughtful writer, betrays his tendency to live in the past by advocating the restoration of the power of free choice to the members of the electoral college. The drift is rather to the choice of the President by direct vote.

The November "Atlantic" is by no means remarkable. Most of the articles are of class interest, a fault into which the recent management of the "Atlantic" has not often fallen. Yet Brooks Adams has a good study of the ancient guild as the foundation of the commonwealth idea, and Maurice Thompson makes a very readable paper on the haunts of the mocking-bird. We find nothing of value in the posthumous paper by Henry James, Sr. It is a thinly-veiled biographical sketch of very little merit. The lengthier reviews in the "Atlantic" are always well done. There are also some good suggestions in Mr. Shaler's presentation of the Negro problem.

There has been a great improvement in "Lippincott's" in respect of the quality of its engravings. They are not numerous enough now to be a very strong feature in this Magazine. The quality is, however, excellent. The readers of the Review will be detained by not more than two articles. Mr. Kirke writes in an interesting fashion of a trip up the French Broad, one of the most picturesque of Southern rivers; and the author of "Study and Stimulants" presents John Bright as a temperance reformer. Theologians as well as scientific men will do well to read what Dr. Francis J. Shepherd has to say in the October "Popular Science Monthly" concerning "The Significance of Human Anomalies." It is a development of the idea, on which the evolutionists lay great stress, that anomalous muscles, bones, and organs frequently found in the human subject, betray descent from some anthropoid, but not human, type. The inaugural address of Lord Rayleigh, at Montreal, is given in full. It traces the recent progress of physical science in a clear and pleasing fashion. This address is conceived in a very different spirit from that which gave John Tyndall notoriety rather than fame. Another noteworthy paper is that on "The Morality of Happiness," in which an attempt is made, not without ingenuity, to find a natural basis for morality. Perhaps Prof. J. P. Cooke's discussion of the "Greek Question" ought to be included in the list of valuable papers.

The October and November numbers of the "Canadian Methodist Magazine" increase our respect for this excellent religious family magazine. Its papers on travel, education, mission work, and religion are excellently well adapted to increase intelligence, inspire devotion and quicken religious activity. It is a singular fact that no religious periodical of this class seems to succeed this side of the Dominion line.

The preacher need not in these days go without homiletic aids. Besides the larger works on homiletics there are two monthlies which very thoroughly represent current pulpit teaching. The "Homiletic Monthly" (Funk and Wagnalls) has been longest in the field, and has gained a high place in the esteem of many. While this and the "Pulpit Treasury" (E. B. Treat) are both surpassingly good aids to an honest student, they need to be used with care, lest, on the one hand, the excellence of the matter produce discouragement, and the quantity of the matter, on the other hand, create a disposition to rely on the preparation of others. Rightly used, there can be no more valuable helps to the minister than these excellent chronicles of current pulpit work.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D., late Warburtonian Lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Two vols., pp. 698 and 826. Second Edition. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Longman, Green, & Co.

It had seemed that the department of Biblical and Christian learning properly included under the designation of the "Life of Christ" had been so fully occupied that there was no longer room for any new-comer. But the elaborate work of Dr. Weiss was accepted on its appearance as covering points still vacant, and presenting views that had not before appeared; and now we have yet another work on the same general theme, but very unlike the former, so learned and elaborate as to command respectful attention, and make its study a necessity to all who would be acquainted with the literature of the subject, or view its wonderful story in some of its most important aspects. The author of this work, though not much known in this country, where none of his writings have till now been published (except his annotated translation of Kurtz's "History of the Old Covenant," Philadelphia, 1859), has, however, been recognized by scholars, both in England and this country, as a writer of painstaking fidelity and of extensive learning in his chosen specialty, as is amply shown in his "History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus" (12mo, Edinburgh, 1867), and his "The Temple: Its Ministry and Services as they were in the Time of Christ" (8vo, London, 1874), both of which have an intimate relation to his chief work, named above. This reprint is from the second English edition (the first was issued only little more than a year earlier, September, 1883, and was probably a very limited one, as to the number of copies, and not stereotyped), and the enlarged demand that has called out this second and more permanent issue is indicative of the favor with which the work has been received. It was reviewed in the "Edinburgh" for January, 1884.

The author is known to us only by his writings. His style of writing and methods of thought are those of an English biblical scholar, which designation includes those of his class in this country; but he differs widely from the German and other continental writers, and to our thinking, very much for the better. But both his German patronym and the specific lines of thought in which

all his studies and writings run suggest a probably Israelitish ancestry, and out of these come to us some of the most valuable properties of the work, in both the body of the narrative with its discussions and illustrations, and more especially in the learned Introduction of a hundred pages, and the nineteen Appendixes.

The second subject named in the title, the "Times" of the Christ, is elaborated with special fullness. The Introduction attempts to reproduce the details of Jewish life and thought, the political, social, and religious conditions of the people, at and immediately before the beginning of our era—their Messianic expectations, and their mental and spiritual enslavement to Rabinism. If Christ's own history is the drama produced in these pages, the environments of his life constitute the scenery among which it was enacted, and their presentation seems needful to the proper understanding of the evangelical story; and these are here given with a fullness and a wealth of learning that is seldom seen in works of this character. So rich is the setting of the jewel that one may hesitate to decide which of the two is, as to its form, the more admirable. At every point of the sacred narrative not only the facts as stated by the evangelists are brought out clearly, and their places and relations determined, but their attendant conditions and circumstances are reproduced, not, however, in the form of imaginary ideals, but as realities taught and illustrated by competent authorities. The only available objection that can be made against the work is its wonderful fullness and wealth of matter.

It is not a work for hasty and superficial reading; but to the real student, whose purpose is to fully comprehend the New Testament narrative in its objective presentation, and by that means the better to appreciate its deep spiritual significance, this great work may be recommended with all confidence. In no other that we have seen—and we have endeavored to be acquainted with its literature—is the subject so fully discussed in its historical relations and bearings; and at the same time the great spiritual truths which permeate and suffuse the records of Christ's ministry are every-where brought to the front and made the governing idea of the writing. As a literary production these volumes are evidently the rich harvest of a life-time of diligent husbandry, pursued with industry and singleness of purpose, and the result abundantly justifies the outlay.

History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. By EDWARD (WILHELM EUGENE) REUSS, Professor in the University of Strasburg (Germany). Translated from the Fifth Revised and Enlarged German Edition, with Numerous Bibliographical Additions. By EDWARD L. HOUGHTON, A.M. In two volumes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. New York: 11 East 17th Street.

This work, now first given to the English reading public, has been long and favorably known to biblical scholars since its first appearance, more than thirty years ago. Its advent was at a time when the destructive criticism of the Tübingen school had passed its zenith, and was giving place to better methods of inquiry. The author's position or method, in the performance of his self-imposed task, is the "historico-critical," submitting his subject to just such treatment, in endeavoring to determine its character and authority, as must be given to any and every document, ancient or modern, religious or secular. This method of treatment is now very generally accepted; but as a writer's own cast of mind and habits of thinking very largely affect the force of the evidence with which he deals, and often determine the results of his investigations, so, while following the same objective methods, different critics will arrive at wholly diverse conclusions, according to their dissimilar subjective inclinations. So this writer, because he hesitates to accept any super-rational conception of Christianity which includes the specifically divine element in the Scriptures, so applies the accepted method of criticism as to reach results that would not be reached were that element received as a factor in the problem. But though his stand-point is that of a rationalist, his style of argumentation, very unlike many of his predecessors of the same school, is logically fair and reverent in spirit; and while excluding the supernatural from the premises with the concession of which the argument must begin, its reality is allowed to be possible, but not available, because it is transcendental.

The Christian student, who in studying this great work shall make the requisite corrections to rectify the writer's mental aberrations, will find in it an uncounted store of the most valuable, because available, learning touching the subjects considered. After a brief introductory glance at the oral teachings of Christ and the apostles—giving special prominence to the ministry of St. Paul—he passes to the period of the production of the apostolic literature—the latter half of the first century—during which all the canonical books of the New Testament were written. After that he comes to the formation of the canon, by including certain books and excluding others; a work which he thinks was

generally well done, though by no official authority, and not always absolutely correctly on either side. Next is given some account of the preservation of the New Testament writings, including the history of the text, with their diffusion throughout Christendom, their theological use, and finally the history of exegesis. As a thoroughly learned, fair (as seen from the author's point of view), and eminently able handling of these subjects, we know of nothing better; and, notwithstanding a qualified dissent from some of the conclusions reached, it may be cordially recommended to any who may be seeking to master its subjects. The translation here given deserves most emphatic approval. In many Anglicised German works, the so-called translation remains essentially German in its style and forms of utterance, though given in English words; but not so in this case. The purpose declared by the translator, "to render the thought as accurately as possible, and at the same time in fairly idiomatic and readable English," has been accomplished with exceptional completeness. The reading very seldom suggests any of the characteristics of the original German, so proving the incorrectness of the assumption sometimes made, that our language is not competent to embody the ideas that are familiar to German writers.

This work, as now given to English readers, makes a valuable contribution to our apparatus for biblical study, for which not only the author, but also the translator and the publishers, are entitled to our thanks.

The Possibilities of Grace. By Rev. ASBURY LOWREY, D.D. 12mo, pp. 472. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A well-chosen title makes a favorable output for any new book, and such is that chosen by Dr. Lowrey for this his latest production. The outward appearance of the book will also make favor for it, for in type, paper, and binding it is such a book as one likes to take in hand. As to its contents, it is a treatise on the religious life, or Christian experience, viewed and presented with especial reference to its "possibilities" in its advanced and matured stages. As will be inferred, it belongs to the somewhat numerous class of books—some very good, and some not so good—that make up our modern "holiness" literature, and in that goodly company it deserves an honorable place. In its substance and scope it is almost identical with Bishop Merrill's "Aspects of Christian Experience;" but the two are distinguished from each other by characteristic peculiarities, the latter being the broader

and the former the more intense. As a professor of the "higher life," Dr. Lowrey undertakes to set forth its character and conditions, its relations to spiritual religion in its widest conception, and he carefully guards the subject against misapprehensions and abuses. The book is happily arranged and well written; its methods of discussion are commendable, its temper good, and its taste unexceptionable. It merits a ready reception among works of its class.

The doctrinal views expressed are generally of the orthodox Methodist pattern. The fact of original sin in man's nature is assumed or treated as a first truth, and the overthrow and extirpation of this "fault" is presented as the great purpose of God's grace as manifested in religious experience. But this is seldom or never accomplished at the beginning of the new life, and therefore growth in grace and conflicts with inbred sin go forward in the life of the believer till the completed work is effected. To these views no sound Methodist of the Wesleyan type can take any exceptions, nor need we intimate any dissent from the general teaching of the book, at any important point; and if it contains but little that has not been before said, there may be enough of newness and freshness in the saying to justify this substantial repetition.

It is quite manifest, and some may consider it as undesirable, that a portion of our excellent people constitute a class of specialists in respect to religious experience. They not only use their own methods, but they have a peculiar dialect, and words and phrases as used by them have come to have special and somewhat technical significations. "Sanctification," and "holiness," and many like terms that in Holy Scripture and in general religious discourse are used to designate the ordinary fruits of the Spirit in believers, are narrowed down so as to indicate only a specific and ultimate work of grace; and while Christ and his apostles, and the godly of all the ages of the Church, have been intent on cultivating the work of grace with equal diligence in all its stages, these good people appear to concern themselves almost wholly with that higher grade into which (so much more is the pity) comparatively few have come. There can be no question but that "the possibilities of grace" reach forward to a blessed fullness, and for that all are called to labor; but there are very many steps in the ascent below the topmost landing, and for those upon these most of the labor of Christ's ministers must be expended; and some may even doubt whether there is any special landing-

place in the ascent of the soul heavenward till the end is reached. We have named some of the good qualities of Dr. Lowrey's book, and there are still others that might be named. To some readers such books are especially acceptable, and may be profitable; but the spiritual tastes of others will covet spiritual diet prepared and presented in less artificial styles. Theories in religion, whether of the head or the heart, are less valuable than the faith that accepts, without a theory, the grace that brings salvation.

Jesus Christ, God, God and Man. Conferences delivered at Notre Dame in Paris. By REV. PÈRE LACORDAIRE, of the Order of Friar Preachers. A new edition in one volume. 12mo, pp. 418. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Besides the self-aggrandizing ecclesiasticism of the Church of Rome and its soul-killing literalism and formalities, it also embodies substantial Christian doctrine, and it likewise has within its communion a class of deeply pious (many of them also pietistic) Christians who, despite the unwholesome influences among which they reside, are leading lives of real faith and devotion. This better side of Romanism is presented in these discourses of Père Lacordaire, in which, with the accidents of his Church relations and life, he most happily and forcibly sets forth some of the great fundamental truths of Christianity which belong to Protestants no less than to Catholics, to wit: Christian theism, the person and work of Christ, and the intercourse between God and man in Christian life. It is a wholesome book, if read with proper discrimination, and well adapted to awaken deep devotional feelings.

Spiritual Life; Its Nature, Urgency, and Crowning Excellence. By Rev. J. H. POTTS, A.M., Detroit. 16mo, pp. 230. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884.

This is a kindred book to that of Dr. Lowrey, noticed above, and yet with specific differences; and in their points of difference we prefer this work to that, as broader and more catholic. Such books are chiefly valuable as aids to personal religious culture, though they are not without their dogmatic implications and didactic suggestions. In literary ability and good taste, as well as for its adaptation to awaken religious impulses, it is deserving of decided commendations. Its extensive use would do good.

The Reality of Faith. By NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of "Old Faiths in New Light," etc. 12mo, pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Smyth made himself famous, and so awakened opposition and procured promotion, by stating certain rather commonplace

notions in unusual and somewhat exaggerated forms of words. It is quite evident that he is not a bad heretic, and probably as he grows older, and his imagination comes to be less disproportioned to his judgment, and when he has thought himself through the subjects he has in hand, it will be found that his theology is neither new nor strange. This last output of his ever-restless brain probably will neither hasten nor retard the transition through which the subject, though probably himself not aware of it, is evidently passing.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Methodism. Comprising a View of the Rise of this Revival of Spiritual Religion in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Principal Agents by whom it was Promoted in Europe and America. With some Account of the Doctrines and Polity of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, and the Means and Manner of its Extension down to A. D. 1884. By HOLLAND N. M'TYEIRE, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 8vo, pp. 688. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

With this very long title—which is fairly indicative of the contents of the book—Bishop M'Tyeire, having been requested to undertake the work by the Centennial Committee and the “college” of Bishops of his Church, presents to the public a rapid, succinct, but comprehensive sketch of Methodism generally, and of American Methodism as a whole, down to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and thenceforward the history of that branch of Methodism to this Centennial Year. As a specimen of mechanical and artistic book-making the volume in hand is highly creditable to its publishers. The paper, printing, binding, and illustrations (on steel) are all good, and in all its exterior the work is worthy of its occasion. As a literary production it is also creditable to its author, who, having an immense mass of matter from which to choose his materials, has quite satisfactorily selected and omitted, so as to bring together within the prescribed limits the salient and representative points out of which to weave the purposed narrative according to the ideal in his mind and purpose; and it is done with commendable literary skill.

The real character and attitude of the work, as designed by its author, is fairly indicated in a single sentence in the preface: “The reader is advertised that this is not a history of Southern Methodism, but of Methodism from a Southern point of view,” though this must be qualified by the concession that it is, as to

the period from 1844-45, onward, specifically and nearly exclusively a history of Southern Methodism. A further indication of its purpose is given in the remark that "Methodism in the South has suffered injustice from the manner in which it has been presented by learned, honest, and able writers in the North." The presence and influence of the ruling thought indicated by these two observations may be detected throughout the volume. The writer is calm and kindly-disposed, with no apparent wish to renew the strifes of the past; but he cannot remand the subject of those conflicts to silence without a restatement of the case and a final plea in behalf of his own side.

Evidently the discussions about the points which have divided the opinions of American Methodists, and which have seemed to have different aspects in different latitudes of the country, are not yet at their end; but passing from merely local, temporary, and personal debates, they are now receiving the broader and better consideration that their dignity and importance demands. From the first the Methodists of the South, in sympathy with the aristocratico-barbaric civilization of their region, inclined to favor something of a prelatical character in the episcopacy, and to guard the "prerogatives" of the *magnates* quite as jealously as the "rights and privileges" of the *commons*; while in the North an opposite tendency has been manifest. And out of these fundamentally opposite tendencies has grown up most of the conflicts which have agitated the body—though it is somewhat remarkable that the border States of the South have contributed some of the ablest advocates of the liberal side. The political divergences of the two sections have had their effects upon the prevalent views of their ecclesiastical affairs; and the end of these things is not yet. The thoughtful observer will not fail to see, that, after the similitude of the unborn sons of Rebecca, two nations were in the womb of early American Methodism, and two manners of people have all along contended in its organic structure. The High-Church party has contemplated its ecclesiastical authority as an heir-loom descended from Wesley, and perpetuated by a continuation of the ecclesiastical successors of that great "Apostle." With them, therefore, the episcopacy is possessed of certain inalienable *prerogatives* which cannot be eliminated nor modified except by revolutionary proceedings. This was the attitude of those, chiefly Southerners, who effectually resisted and reversed the will of the majority of the General Conference, in 1820, on the famous "Pre-

siding Elder Question;" and which also, in 1844, gallantly but ineffectually strove to shield the episcopal status, as they viewed it, which they thought they saw invaded in the person of one of its incumbents. The theory of their opponents is, that the American Methodist episcopacy was indigenous to the soil—a sporadic development from the living body of the Church, which (Church) antedates by a score of years the advent of a Methodist Bishop in America. They hold that Coke became a Bishop, not by Wesley's "ordination" and appointment, but by the action of the Conference of 1784, which accepted him in that relation, to which office Asbury was also raised by the election of the Conference, and ordained according to its instructions. Acting upon this idea, the Conference soon afterward effectually repudiated Wesley's authority over them; and a little later, first reduced Coke to the status of an assistant superintendent under Asbury, and at length effectually deposed him without trial or formal complaint against him. The same principles were brought to bear, in 1844, in the case of Bishop Andrew, a proceeding which is fully justified, as to its legality, by that theory as it cannot be by any other. The General Conference of 1884 formally reaffirmed these principles, and vindicated the action of the fathers in 1844, as nothing else could do.

In considering these things "from a Southern point of view," Bishop M'Tyeire presents the "High-Church" side of the questions and controversies of which he writes, as, of course, he has the right to do. The positions held and the claims set forth by the Methodists of the "Church South" are in harmony with their cherished fundamental ideas of Methodist Church polity, and they are entitled to respect for their practical loyalty to their own convictions. But just how the High-Church advocates in Northern Methodism reconcile the action of 1844 with their principles, is a question that we need not answer. If they are theoretically correct, it would seem that the Methodist Episcopal Church owes it to herself, and to the truth of history, to disclaim any sympathy with the action that suspended Bishop Andrew, and as far as possible to reverse that action, with due confession and contrition—all of which, most likely, will not be done in the near future.

The view of the progress of Methodism in all lands during the century succeeding Mr. Wesley's earliest Conferences is alike marvelous and cause for devout thanksgiving, all of which Bishop M'Tyeire presents in a graphic and life-like, though

necessarily condensed, sketch, as also others before him have done. But his sketch of the Church South, in both the period of construction immediately after the "Separation," and that of reconstruction after the "War of Secession," are comparatively new matter of history, and the things there stated cannot fail to awaken admiration at the immense resources for recuperation it has displayed. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is today no inconsiderable factor in the problem of the moral and religious affairs of the future of the nation; and, while emphatically dissenting from its theoretical ecclesiasticism, we give it a hearty Godspeed in all its evangelistic designs and achievements. And to that work Bishop M'Tyeire's book will prove a valuable auxiliary, and, indeed, it will stand an honor and a boon to "ecumenical" Methodism. Lamenting, as we do, any deficiency of Christian forbearance in the process of division and in the subsequent relations of the two Methodisms—as seen from the present point of view—it seems to be demonstrated that the separation was not only a necessity, but for the best interests of all concerned. The history of Abraham and Lot, and their separation each from the other in the interests of peace, is paralleled in this case; and the causes which called for separation forty years ago remain to this present. But the division is no longer geographical. There are three "nations" in the South, to only one of which, though that is both the most numerous and the most highly cultivated, is the Church South the best qualified to minister; and in order that in all that region the poor shall have the Gospel preached to them, it is needful that a Church based upon other ideas should set up its banners and permanently pitch its tents among them. The division of labor in that field is a recognized fact. Let each one stand in his lot, and then "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," but each in his own way shall fly upon the shoulders of their spiritual enemies.

Centennial History of American Methodism, inclusive of the Period of its Ecclesiastical Organization and its Subsequent Development under the Superintendency of Francis Asbury. With Sketches of the Character and History of all the Preachers known to have been Members of the Christmas Conference; also, an Appendix, showing the Numerical Position of the Methodist Episcopal Church as compared with the other leading Evangelical Denominations in the Cities of the United States; and the Condition of the Educational Work of the Church. By JOHN ATKINSON, D.D. 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884. Price, \$2.

The "Centennial" seems likely to serve a valuable purpose in respect to original Methodist history. Heretofore our histories

have consisted chiefly of apologetics and heroics. They were called for by the times. But the time has fully come for truthful and discriminating examinations and presentations of the events and the men of the early days of Methodism, and precisely that thing is here attempted by Dr. Atkinson, and executed with a good share of success. Those "grand old heroes"—ancestors are nearly always heroes—will not suffer by being set in a clear historical light, with all their human traits laid open to inspection. We are glad that Dr. Atkinson, whose patience in research is proverbial, has undertaken and completed such a work.

Teachers and Teaching; or, The Sunday-school Teacher's Teaching Work, and the other Work of the Sunday-school Teacher. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, D.D., Editor of the "Sunday-School Times," etc. 12mo, pp. 390. Philadelphia: John D. Waters.

Dr. H. Clay Trumbull has the right to speak *ex cathedra* to all Sunday-school workers—for he has not only given his life-long efforts to that work, but has also accustomed himself to carefully note all its phases, and to put into shape, and then into print, the results of his observations. By that process this volume has grown up, much of its matter having before seen the light, chiefly in "The Sunday-School Times," but large portions also in other periodicals. His method combines philosophic discussions of the subject of teaching, especially as called for in the Sunday-school, and specific rules and directions for rendering his own conclusions practically available. As no adequate statement of the contents can be given in the limits at our disposal, we can only commend the book to the attention of our readers, with the conviction that its careful study will be abundantly compensated to all who may use it in the spirit in which it is written.

Hebrew Lessons. A Book for Beginners. By H. G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., Boston University. Small quarto, pp. 68. Boston: Ginn, Heath, & Co.

A knowledge of the Hebrew is a necessary preparation for the critical study of the Old Testament; and as just now the attention of the learned world is especially directed to that part of the Holy Scriptures, that knowledge is more than ever before a prerequisite not only for engaging in the conflicts of the times, but also for intelligently following the discussions which constitute a special feature of the biblical literature of the present age. It is well, therefore, that all possible helps shall be afforded for the acquisition of a mastery of the language of our oldest Scriptures; and we are glad to see just such a work as this of Professor

Mitchell, which seems to be peculiarly adapted to the wants of "beginners." The mechanical execution of the work is all that could be desired.

The Beloved Physician: Walter C. Palmer, M.D., and his Sunlit Journey to the Celestial City. By his Colleague, REV. GEORGE HUGHES. With an Introduction by REV. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: Palmer & Hughes.

Dr. Palmer was for nearly fifty years a somewhat conspicuous figure in New York Methodism, though he seemed always content to accept the second place, while his wife, Mrs. Phœbe Palmer, held the first. The two were joint laborers for the promotion of the "higher Christian life," in which they operated together as true yoke-fellows, and with not inconsiderable success. During the earlier part of their career they encountered some degree of opposition, in respect to both their doctrines and their methods; but not so in their later years. But whether the change was the result of a higher spiritual tone in the Church, or because their own bearing became less belligerent with ripening years—as Etna's fires grow dim at break of day—may be an open question. Certainly the later years of "The Beloved Physician" were strongly marked by a quiet godliness of manner which seemed to encircle his head like an aureola. This volume, which purports to be his memoirs, is meager in properly biographical matter, being largely made up of excerpts from Mrs. Palmer's letters, and miscellaneous extracts from the "Guide to Holiness," of which first she, and then he, was a long time the editor. A very good steel-plate portrait serves as a frontispiece.

The Life of Robert Paine, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. By R. H. RIVERS, Author of "Our Young People," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. W. P. HARRISON, D.D., Book Editor, etc. 12mo, pp. 314 (with a portrait). Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Our Southern brethren seem disposed to write their own history and to commemorate their own heroes, which is well. Of those heroes Bishop Paine was a decidedly good specimen; if not among the most brilliant, yet of solid worth. As is desirable in such a relation, the biographer was an attached friend and admirer of his subject, and the work he has produced is a beautiful tribute to the memory of a good man. The "Introduction," by Dr. Harrison, is a somewhat elaborate essay on the influence of early Methodism on American civilization, with some references to mooted questions in Methodist polity, a subject which is usually viewed from the stand-point of the successful party, and therefore the presentation may be one-sided.

Thomas Carlyle. A History of his Life in London, 1834-1881. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo, pp. 417. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Froude is certainly producing a very readable sketch of his great subject, despite any infelicities, supposed or real, of either or both the author and his subject. Without denying or very much palliating Mr. Carlyle's unamiabilities, the writer presents them with their conditions, which in many cases show them in a better light than that in which they have hitherto been seen. A fuller discussion of the qualities and merits of the work is reserved till the publication of the complete set.

Country Cousins: Short Studies in the Natural History of the United States. By ERNEST INGERSOLL, Author of "Friends Worth Knowing," "Knocking Round the Rockies," "The Ice Queen," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 247. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Ingersoll, in the books heretofore issued, has at once made the public his debtor and achieved for himself a valuable reputation as an instructive and pleasing writer, especially on subjects of natural history as the "common people" see such things. In this volume his chosen subjects are not those the most generally favored. They are toads, and dormice, and "birds of the brook-side," snakes, oysters, and starfishes, with a glance of Pike's Peak and its native denizens. The young people who have been delighted and instructed by the author's earlier volumes will desire to possess this, and it will not disappoint them.

Manual of Biblical Geography. A Text-Book on Biblical History, especially Prepared for the Use of Students and Teachers of the Bible, and for Sunday-school Instruction, containing Maps, Plans, Review Charts, Colored Diagrams, and Illustrated with Accurate Views of the Principal Cities and Localities known to Bible History. By Rev. J. L. HURLEUR, D.D., Assistant Editor "International Sunday-School Lesson Commentary," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., Superintendent of Instruction, Chautauqua. 4to, pp. 158. Chicago: Rand, McNally, & Co., The Continental Publishing Company. \$4 50 cloth; \$3 75 boards.

The very full and accurately descriptive title, given above, of this elegant and really valuable manual renders further description largely unnecessary. For its ability and adaptation, the names of those who prepared it and under whose auspices it is sent forth will prove to any who have not seen it a pledge of its sufficiency; and the confidence so begotten will not suffer under examination. It will, wherever used—and alike to private readers of the Bible and Sunday-school teachers and pupils—prove a pleasant and a highly useful companion.

Hindu Philosophy Popularly Explained: The Orthodox Systems. By RAM CHANDRA BOSE, A.M., of Lucknow, India, Author of "Brahmoism." 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this work is a somewhat remarkable product of our cosmopolitan age. He is a Hindu of pure blood, early converted to Christianity, and educated at Dr. Duff's college in Calcutta. He has also largely profited in the religions and philosophy of his own country, so that he is able to present inside views of the subjects of which he treats. Such a production is a valuable addition to our stock of information respecting Hindu learning and thought. It is written in good and nervous English, and in a style that cannot fail to be understood.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

The Liquor Problem in all Ages. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 656. Illustrated. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Dr. Dorchester is great on statistics, and here he has found a broad and fruitful field for the exercise of his genius. In respect to the subject here treated, statistical knowledge is especially valuable, and when given with adequate fullness, such statistics are tremendously eloquent. Of this portly volume, the first "Part," of a hundred and forty pages, is made up of an account of the use of alcoholic stimulants in all ages and nations, and though necessarily brief it is comprehensive. The rest of the book, designated "Part Second," is devoted to the "Temperance Reformation," the record of which the author distributes into three "periods:" "The Inception," 1785-1825; "Organization and Advance," 1826-1860; "Latest Phases," 1860-1884. The field of observation of the whole of this "Part" is our own country, except a brief reference, in the third period, to some recent movements in Great Britain.

The historical statements respecting the first of these periods, that of "Inception," is especially valuable, as showing the incipient movements of a force which has become at length so fully developed and thoroughly organized that its presence is recognized and its efficient action felt or found in all ranks and classes of society. In the history of this period the name of Dr. Benjamin Rush justly occupies the first place, and a significant fact in that great philanthropist's career is that recorded by Rev. Jesse Lee in his account of the Methodist Conference of 1788, held in Philadelphia, that "the celebrated Dr. Rush visited it, and

delivered an earnest and animated address on the use of ardent spirits, . . . and he besought the Conference to use their influence to stop *the use*, as well as the abuse, of ardent spirits." There was something prophetic in that meeting, when on the one hand physiological and medical science, and evangelical propagandism on the other, met together in the field of Christian philanthropy to set the brand of condemnation upon a vicious practice, and to designate its only effective remedy. The whole temperance reform, as it is now known, was there in embryo. After Dr. Rush came a succession of worthies—Dr. Lyman Beecher, Heman Humphrey, N. S. Prime, Calvin Chapin, Wilbur Fisk, Abbott, Worcester, Channing, still widening into a great multitude, to enumerate which even Dr. Dorchester's marvelous statistical powers are unequal.

Of the period of "Organization," beginning with 1826, we have been a personal observer from the first, and since 1828 a participant, *in minime*.

The founders of these "cold-water societies" of fifty years ago—which were often among the least pretentious gatherings of the people in halls and school-houses, and as appendages to the debating society or the farmers' clubs—were building better than they knew, and their movements were the first symptoms of one of the greatest and most beneficial, because the most needed, moral and social reformations of the age; and like the first stages of all great movements, this was then quite incomplete in its character, and showing very faint intimations as to "whereunto these things would grow." And yet the germs of the whole plant, as it is now developed, with its prophecy and potency for still larger results, were all there; and in that fact lies the essence of its invincibility and the pledge of its final triumph.

The history of the temperance movement, from its inception downward to the present, is both curious and instructive, well calculated to inspire hope, though in many cases it was very far from being wisely, and ably managed. As it has been said of the Church that it must be of God, or it would have been ruined by those who have undertaken to manage its affairs, so the temperance cause evinces its indestructibility by its survival and growth in spite of the treatment it has received from its friends.

But its outlook is full of hope. Its warfare is by no means nearly accomplished; in fact, it is just beginning in good earnest. There has been a good deal of skirmishing and sporadic uprisings, but the time has come for organized action, with the massing of

its forces, the open declaration of war to the death, and the placing of the array under competent leaders. What has been done need not to be depreciated, for all these stages of its development were necessary, and as they have done their work well and worthily, so now other men and methods must take their places. The Church has steadily advanced its positions, till, as a whole, it is now pretty closely abreast with the reformatory column, and the government, in obedience to the popular will, enforced by the convictions and the conscience of the masses, must take its place as the executioner in this conflict and victory. Our political parties have the alternatives presented, to adopt the prohibition of the liquor traffic among their chief purposes, or to go down under the power of the popular verdict. This may not, probably will not, come all at once, nor till after many partial defeats and partial victories, but the incoming of the tide or the changes of the seasons are scarcely more certain and irresistible than are such moral revolutions.

We are very glad that this book has been written, and we hope it may be very widely circulated and read. Its great practical value is in the fact that it must produce conviction and arouse men's consciences, just the things as to which our popular temperance movements have chiefly failed. But the day of decision has evidently come, and every man must take his place on one or the other side of the temperance question, which means on the better side, *total abstinence for the Individual, and total prohibition for the Government.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Nature's Serial Story. By EDWARD P. ROE, Author of "Barriers Burned Away," etc. Illustrated by W. Hamilton Gibson and F. Dielman. 8vo, pp. 430. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Those who read serials in the Magazines—we never do—may have become acquainted with this work, as it has appeared in "Harper's" during the current year. Here the numbers are brought together in a really beautiful volume, with the exquisite illustrations that appeared in the monthly—altogether making a superior holiday book.

Mr. Roe is well known as a writer of fiction, and so well have his productions responded to the public demands that his books have had an exceptionally large sale. This one, though written in the form of a fiction, is evidently such only as to its

form and special details. It is a transcript from nature—the country homestead and its occupants, the fields and orchards and meadows, the forests and mountains, the sunshine and rain, the wind and the thunder-storm, the birds and the beasts and creeping things, with the changing skies and seasons. These are wrought into the personal story of a country family of the better class, with the inevitable summer visitant from the city. As a novel, the work is not of a high order, though it has the due amount of love-making; but to the lover of natural objects and scenery, as they appear to all such, with the vicissitudes of the changing year, and especially to one personally familiar with the things that are herein described, as is the writer of this notice, these descriptions possess a genuine charm. As a delineator of these things Mr. Roe is not to be compared with Thoreau or John Burrows; but he delights in nature, and succeeds in imparting some of his enthusiasm to his readers. This is, therefore, a pleasant book to have at hand, to be looked into at leisure times, when it will both please and instruct; and the pictures will bear often-repeated examinations.

Forty-fifth Year-Book of De Pauw University: Containing an Historical Sketch of the Institution; an Outline of the Organization; the Triennial Record of the Alumni; the Course of Study; the Catalogue of Students; and General Miscellany, for the year 1883-84.

After a successful career of nearly half a century, not without some vicissitudes and felt wants, "Indiana Asbury University," chiefly through the liberality of a single individual, advances prospectively to the front rank of Methodist institutions of learning, and with its improved status also adopts the name of its chief patron. Its past career has been honorable, and now its outlook is full of promise. Its year-book, an octavo of 308 pages, presents an almost bewildering array of "schools" and "colleges" and "lectureships" and "departments," with accounts of the provisions made for their maintenance, and the successful prosecution of its work. Its faculty is an able one, with Bishop Bowman for its Chancellor, and Dr. Alexander Martin, who has successfully administered its affairs since 1875, as President and head of its local administration. The outlook of its affairs is exceedingly hopeful.

Shobab: A Tale of Bethesda. (A Poem.) By JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 145. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons.

The versification is good, the style elevated, and the imagery poetical.

Harper and Brothers are issuing, in extra weekly numbers, Stormonth's "Dictionary of the English Language." It will extend to over twenty numbers, which together will make a volume of more than 1,200 pages. The type is good—not large—a fac-simile of the English copy, being made from duplicate plates. It is certainly a valuable work, embodying all that has been so well and ably wrought out in precedent works of its class, especially Webster's. Its *Vocabulary* is comprehensive, the *Pronunciation* is clearly made out, the *Etymologies* full and learned, and the *Definitions* precise and clear and rich. The appendixes now usually found in dictionaries will appear, wholly rewritten, corrected, and greatly enriched.

Indian History for Young Folks. By FRANCIS S. DRAKE. With Numerous Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 479. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Though abounding with valuable information, in common with nearly all the records of affairs between the white men and the native savages of this country, this book is not pleasant reading. The conduct of the whites toward the Indians has usually been characterized by injustice and unscrupulousness, and that of the latter by dishonesty, treachery, and barbarous cruelty. The usual manner of telling this sad story has not been felicitous, for at one time there has been the picturing of the "noble red man," and at another the most sickening stories of savage bloodthirstiness and brutality, though in this volume these features are somewhat softened, perhaps at the expense of historical accuracy. The account here given extends from the earliest advent of Europeans to this continent to the recent past. It is well written, both as to style and the grouping of subjects, and without much of the false sentimentality that is usually found in such writings. It is apparently the story of a doomed race; for in the presence of white men of the Anglo-Saxon race savages of all nations, whether in war or peace, seem to waste away and die out.

Sketches and Rambles in Holland. By GEORGE A. BOUGHTON, A.R.A. With Illustrations by the Author and Edward A. Abbey. 8vo, pp. 142. New York: Harper & Brothers.

These are rollicking "sketches" of very miscellaneous "rambles" in the "Low Countries," and of scenes viewed through artistic eyes, and sketched with a view to the picturesque, with a slight dash of the comical. The narrative and descriptive matter is well done, and very readable, the latter quality being enhanced by the large print and clear white paper. The illustrations are characteristic and somewhat quaint, and very well executed.

Teachings and Counsels. Twenty Baccalaureate Sermons. With a Discourse on President Garfield. By MARK HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 395. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Few men have been better qualified to teach and advise young men than the venerable late President of Williams College; and no doubt the circumstances among which these discourses were delivered called out his full powers; and, now that he has vacated the position which he so long adorned, it is well that his "Baccalaureates" should be preserved in book form. His graduates will prize them; and they will do good wherever read.

Some Literary Recollections. By JAMES PAYN, Author of "A Confidential Agent," etc. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Judith Shakespeare: Her Love Affairs and Other Adventures. By WILLIAM BLACK, Author of "A Princess of Thule," etc. 12mo, pp. 391, also 4to, Franklin Square Library. New York: Harper & Brothers.

William Black is perhaps about the ablest of living novelists, and "Judith Shakespeare" will not damage his reputation.

Sonnets and Lyrics. By JAMES A. WHITNEY, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 42.

Love and Mirage; or, *The Waiting on an Island.* An Out-of-Door Romance. 18mo, pp. 239. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1885. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and J. L. HURLBUT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 333. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

My Aunt Jeanette. By Mrs. S. M. KIMBALL. Three Illustrations. 18mo, pp. 296. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Berean Question Book for 1885. 18mo, pp. 185.—*The Berean Beginner's Book for 1885.* 18mo, pp. 214.—*The Senior Lesson Book for 1885.* 18mo, pp. 191. New York: Phillips and Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Apostolic Life; as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple (London). Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 353. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Parker makes the grand, heroic men of the infant Church move vigorously and life-like before us, and their imperial oppressors he covers with shame and confusion. The various and exciting incidents connected with apostolic times are given with marvelous exhibition of exegetical skill and graphic delineations.

Sir Moses Montefiore. A Centennial Biography. With Selections from Letters and Journals. By LUCIEN WOLF. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Sir Moses, among all other strange happenings, has the unusual opportunity of knowing what will be said of him when dead; and as Mike said, when gazing at a showy funeral cortege, "Any man might be proud of such a funeral." That such should be the case with a Jew is a remarkable sign of our times.

Harper's Young People (for 1884). The bound volume makes a beautiful as well as valuable annual; and, as it has been a perennial during the current year, by virtue of its weekly visits, so will it be in future years, in its new form. It marks the high level to which juvenile literature has attained.

Left Behind; or, Ten Days a News-Boy. By JAMES OTIS, Author of "Toby Tyler," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A boy's story—such as boys like to read—of the less exceptional kind of its class.

Fifty Years of London Life. Memoirs of a Man of the World. By EDMUND YATES. 12mo, pp. 444. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A gossip sketch of personal reminiscences—largely autobiographical—of a London theatrical man. It will be specially interesting to its own class, as it is also not without its value as a picture of the changing phases of the British metropolis for the last half-century.

Biographical Essays. By MAX MÜLLER, A.M. *Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Sarasvati, Bunyiu Nanjio and Kenjiu Kasavara, Mohi, and Kingsley.* 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These are some of Max Müller's larger "Chips."

Rhetoric Made Easy; or, Aids to Good English. A Companion Book in the Study of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Composition, for Schools, Reading Circles, Literary Societies, and Self-Culture. By Rev. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, A.M., and H. F. FISK, A.M. 18mo, pp. 283. Chicago: George Sherwood & Co.

"Laughing, to teach the truth."

The People's Church Pulpit. Edited by J. W. HAMILTON (Pastor). 12mo, pp. 326. Boston: People's Church.

Just what relation this book bears to "The People's Church" does not appear, further than that the pastor of that church is its editor, and a sketch of its progress forms an Introduction. The sermons were also preached in the church. They are by Bishop Simpson, Joseph Cook, the Pastor, Revs. Phillips Brooks, J. P. Newman, J. M. Buckley, O. P. Gifford, J. O. Peck, Bishops Foster, Campbell, and Mallalieu, the Pastor, J. H. Vincent, and Dr. Townsend.

Boston Monday Lectures: Occident. With Preludes on Current Events. By JOSEPH COOK. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 382.

The annual volume (that for 1884) of the "Boston Monday Lectures" is a little tardy in its coming this year, but it is now in hand. Its form is like its predecessors, and its matter the same that was printed and scattered broadcast over the country during last winter and early spring. But there is much in the volume that will bear re-reading, and in its present form it becomes permanent, and may be widely circulated.

Lost Fairy Tales. By EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Author of "Fairy Book," etc. Authorized Translation by Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Both these stories and the pictures will afford a vast fund of innocent amusement to the young folks. None better since the days of Hans Christian Andersen, or the Grimm Brothers.

Hebrew Introduction; An Elementary Hebrew Grammar and Reading Book. By EDW. C. MITCHELL, D.D. 8vo, pp. 94 and xxxiii. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

A well-prepared and elegantly printed first book in Hebrew, concise, clear, and sufficiently comprehensive.

My Missionary Apprenticeship. By REV. J. M. THOBURN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 386. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A personal narrative of experiences.

Our Missionary Heroes and Heroines; or, Heroic Deeds Done in Methodist Missionary Fields. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Miss Tommy. A Mediæval Romance; and *In a House-Boat.* A Journal. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 253. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, \$1; paper, 50 cents.

A quiet, sprightly, and instructive story of a young woman, who neither aspired to be a man nor despised those whom nature had made such. The writer says of her heroine: "She really lived about half a century ago. She was very beautiful and charming; her name was Thomasina, and she was generally called 'Miss Tommy.'" It is one of Mrs. Mulock-Craik's characteristic stories, and that fact is its sufficient recommendation.

The Voyage of the "Vivian" to the North Pole and Beyond. (Adventures of Two Youths in the Open Polar Sea.) By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods," etc. 8vo, pp. 297.

This is Mr. Knox's contribution for the year to the heroics of juvenile romance. It appears quite opportunely, just when the public mind is all awake to arctic matters. The "voyage" is, of course, fictitious, but the facts of which it is built up are chiefly real, and the fictitious matter is generally such as might be real. The boys will like it, and it will teach them much that will be valuable to them.

Universal History. The Oldest Historical Group of Nations and the Greeks. By LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Edited by G. W. PROTHERO, King's College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 494. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Only the barest skeleton of history can be given in such a work as this, and, accordingly, the author purposes to relate only the things which belong to the whole race of mankind. A little more than a hundred pages are devoted to the ancient eastern nations, (including the Jews,) and the balance of the volume treats only of the Greeks, with whom profane history really begins.

The Ice Queen. By ERNEST INGERSOLL, Author of "Friends Worth Knowing," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 256. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A sprightly story about boys and girls—for boys and girls.

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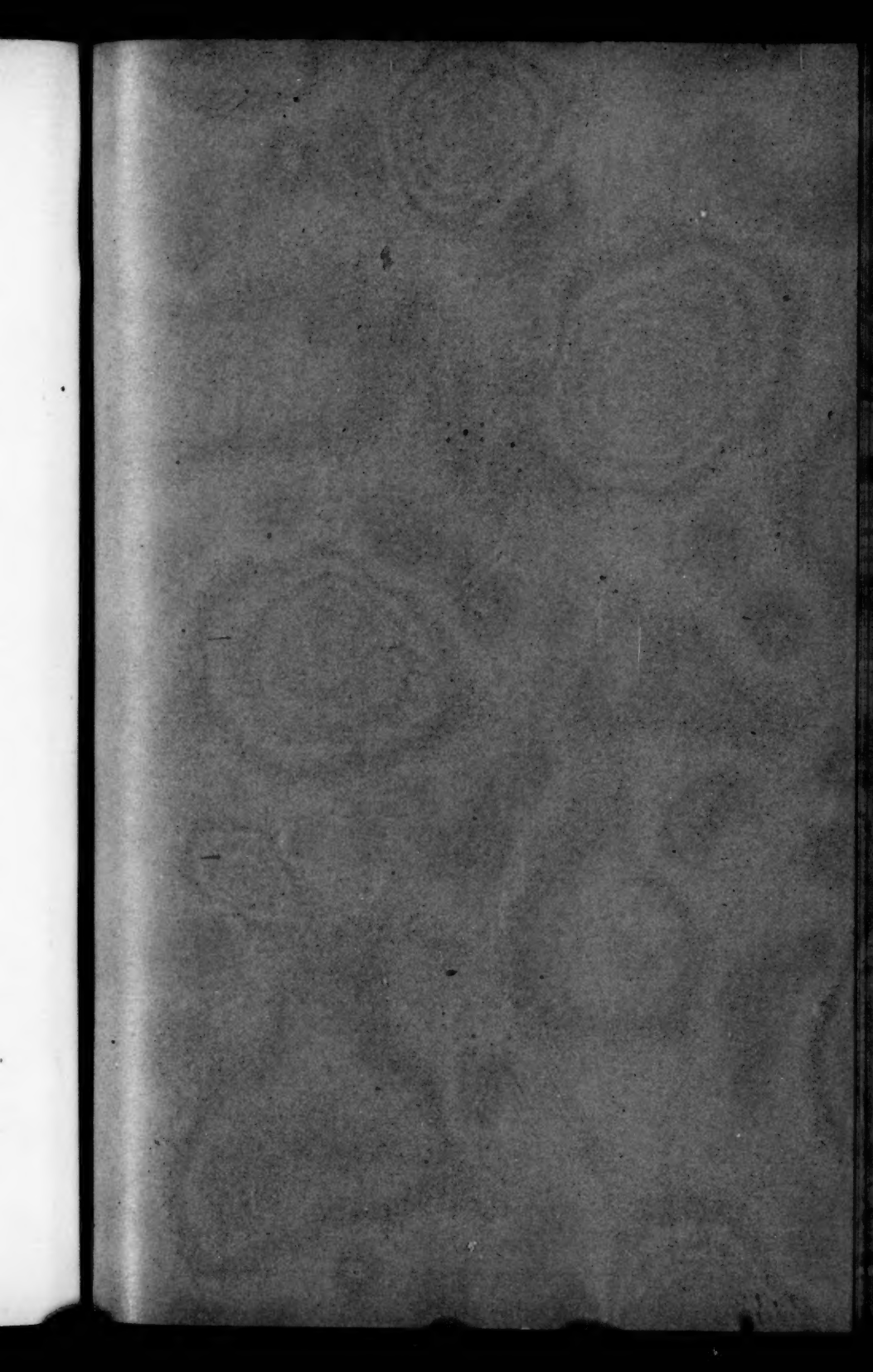
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